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MODERNIZATION OF NATION'S AIR FORCE OUTLINED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 1-2 Nov 80 p 4

[Article by Pierre Darcourt: "Modernization of Air Force in Progress"]

[Text] In ordering 21 additional Mirage F1 interceptor fighters for the air force, the minister of defense above all wanted to partially make up for the delay that has occurred in the "Mirage 2,000" program. Putting the 21 Mirage F1's into service, intended as a replacement for the 20-year-old Mirage III pursuit planes, will not for all that decrease the number of Mirage 2,000 that have been ordered, a total of 22 for 1981.

Overall estimates for the next decade with respect to the modernization of our air force envisage the complete replacement of our combat planes by some 400 Mirage 2,000's.

With a single jet engine of very great operational reliability, the Mirage 2,000 has the benefit of the most highly developed aerodynamics and electronics techniques and a composite of materials (based on fibers of boron, carbon, and glass). Its air frame and its basic equipment: inertial controls, digital computer, automatic pilot, and electrical flight controls are considered to be the most improved in the world.

Its new jet engine, with a 10-ton lifting capacity (with post combustion) assures very great vertical speed). Outclassed by its foreign competitors that are equipped with more powerful jet engines at low and medium altitude, it prevails over them on the other hand when they are called upon to operate at levels from 11,000 to 28,000 meters. Thus it is a question above all of a defensive plane having combat air superiority at a high altitude.

Its interception equipment consists of the Matra Super 530 missile with a 9-km difference in altitude, the Magic air-air with infrared guidance for combat, and with automatic 30-mm guns.

Technological Difficulties

The delay that occurred in the program regarding the implementation of the plane was tied in with technological difficulties concerning the perfecting of a new

generation radar that conditions the use of the weapons system.

Direct pressures exercised by the minister of defense and President Marcel Dassault, himself, on the technicians working on this project ended in the mounting of the first multifunction radar (RDM) on the Mirage 2,000 this October.

The developmental phase of the plane is to be accelerated, so that the first series Mirage 2,000's will also be equipped with them in 1983. This new radar is a highly developed device: being polyvalent, it is just as capable of identifying a hostile target at a distance of about 80 kilometers at high altitude as to detect enemy planes at a distance of 40 kilometers at ground level or at nearly sea level. These performances will make it possible for the Mirage 2,000 to engage in air combat in an atmosphere of intense electronic warfare and ground attack missions, thanks to a highly developed technological system of visualization and viewing of the land. The efficacy of the RDM is increased by a "target illuminator" device, which enables a pilot to discharge a missile that is then immediately guided by a system "of continuous waves." Thus, regardless of the configuration of the flight of the Mirage, once the missile is released, it is relayed unerringly to the opposing fighter aimed at by the pilot. For want of credits, this "target illuminator," intended for exportation, will not be supplied to the air force planes.

8255

CSO: 3100

BRIEFS

NORDIC PETROCHEMICALS COOPERATION URGED--Counselor of Mining Uolevi Raade publicly announced Nordic cooperation in the petrochemical area when he opened the international plastics exhibition, Scanplast 80, in Goteborg. "Norway with its own oil and gas reserves is a natural partner for cooperation. Since Sweden has significant capital and the Finnish oil and petrochemical industry has considerable knowledge and experience, the elements for cooperation do exist," stated Raade. In Raade's opinion the plastics industry in the Nordic countries will become one of Europe's leading industries. "With an industrial policy it is possible to essentially cultivate those outside factors on the basis of which a successful plastics industry can be established in each Nordic country. The manufacture and use of plastic products requires relatively little energy. For this reason the steep rise in the price of oil and energy has not resulted in a loss of markets for plastic products to competitive materials in any important area," stated Raade. [Text] [Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 5 Nov 80 p 26] 10576

CSO: 3107

OIL RETAILING INDUSTRY UNDERGOING REORGANIZATION

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Nov 80 p 36

[Article by Lasse Hoglund]

[Text] The OK [Swedish Oil Consumers' Union] is negotiating the takeover of the entire volume of sales by Nynas of gasoline, diesel, and fuel oils as of the turn of the year. Nynas is instead to concentrate on lubricating oils and, therefore, will take over the activities of the OK in this area. The OK, which already is the biggest oil retailing company in Sweden, will, as a result of this transaction, arrive at a total share of the Swedish oil market of approximately 30 percent.

Both the OK and Nynas will thus be selling sections of their activities to one another, but it is the OK which will be buying the most. How much money is involved in the deal has not been published. The president of the OK, Leif Lewin, and the president of Nynas, Bertil Hansson, stated at a press conference last Wednesday that there will be further negotiations on various matters, including this subject.

If everything goes off all right, the OK will thus be taking over the entire distribution network owned by Nynas, comprising a total of 274 filling stations and a large number of oil customers, both home owners, municipalities and enterprises. Approximately 350 employees at Nynas will be affected by this deal.

Nynas would, in return, take over the lubricating oil factory of the OK at Kvarnholmen in Stockholm with 25-30 employees.

Threat from SP

"The background is the stagnating oil market and the drop in consumption which is expected to continue in the eighties in an already overestablished market," said Leif Lewin. Without mentioning the state-owned SP [Swedish Petroleum Company Inc.] by name, he said that the problems were being accentuated by the arrival of new enterprises in the market.

Nynas will, in the future, be concentrating on asphalt, chemical products and, above all, lubricating oils where they already are the biggest company in the market with a share of well over 20 percent. Through the incorporation of the activity by the OK in the area, the share of Nynas will increase to approximately 25 percent.

That means that Nynas will be using only part of the capacity of the company's refinery in Nynashamn, the one that is making heavy products. The OK will be taking over the responsibility for the section producing lighter oils, for the time being, for a period of 3 years.

"The funds we will be getting from the OK will be used, among other things, for research in the area of alternative energy sources," the president of Nynas said. For example, in the area of increased utilization of coal in a new liquid form which Nynas, Granges and Cementsa will be developing. Together with the state-owned Swedish Forest Service, Nynas is also in the process of developing energy from the so-called biomass.

"To us, the transaction means that we shall be getting a sufficient basis for the supply of commodities, refinery and administration," said the president of the OK, adding, "that is to say, there will be more gasoline stations and oil customers for cost distribution.

"It also gives increased possibilities of expanding the refinery Scanraff at Brofjorden with a so-called cracking plant," said Leif Lewin. A decision on this will be made in September of next year, at the earliest.

The deal between the OK and Nynas is described as structural rationalization in an overestablished industry.

According to the president of the OK, it will not be a question of closing down some of the Nynas filling stations, at least not in the near future. Through the deal, the OK will be getting gasoline stations in 130 localities of the country where it has not been represented previously, primarily in southern and western Sweden--and this at a cost which is considerably lower than if they would have had to build new ones.

Many Filling Stations

However, it is a question of many small stations. The 274 filling stations owned by Nynas sell less than 4 percent of all the gasoline in the country, while the OK, with its nearly 400 filling stations, accounts for nearly 20 percent of the market. The OK filling stations sell approximately twice as much as the average filling station.

The strange implication of the transaction will be that the cooperative OK will be getting private capitalism into its organization.

The OK owns all stations, which are operated by employed personnel. Nynas, on the other hand, has many different combinations of private ownership/leases

in its contracts with the gasoline dealers. These contracts will exist also in the future, both presidents promised at the press conference.

That may mean that the profits which will be made in such a future OK station will be landing in the pockets of a former Nynas manager instead of being distributed among the members.

Whether these filling stations will be carrying the name of OK is one of the questions which remain to be negotiated.

Good Deal

During the first half of the year, OK had a total share of the oil market in the country of 16.5 percent. To this now comes 12 percent from Nynas. When it comes to gasoline, the share increases from 20 to 24 percent, for fuel oil 1 it will increase from 18-19 percent to 28-29 percent and for heavy oils from 13 to 28 percent.

Even if no amounts have been mentioned, the OK probably has made a good deal. For it is a losing concern that the OK will be taking over. Nynas has shown losses in 1976, 1977, and 1978, and losses are expected this year as well. Last year, Nynas had profits in the amount of 50 million kronor, but these were entirely due to so-called inventory profits of 250 million kronor.

The OK showed profits of 250 million kronor for the first half of this year on the basis of a turnover of 3.7 billion kronor. However, inventory profits accounted for 234 million kronor of this amount. For the second half of the year, the OK expects a break-even result. In total, the OK concern has approximately 6,200 employees, compared to approximately 1,300 employees at Nynas.

The transaction also means that Swedish Petroleum will not be getting the Nynas filling stations. They might otherwise have been a suitable purchasing object for the distribution of Norwegian oil in Sweden which the SP is planning together with Volvo Energy and the Norwegian Statoil.

With regard to the problem of overestablishment, these enterprises have stated that their entry on the market will not be taking place through new filling stations but through the purchase of existing gasoline stations.

7262
CSO: 3109

GERMAN-FRENCH POWER BALANCE, POLITICAL TIES WITH USSR, USA

Paris POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE in French Autumn No 9, 1980 pp 7-18

[Interview with Alfred Grosser, professor at the Institute of Police Studies in Paris, author of "L'Allemagne de Notre Temps," Livre de Poche, "Pluriel" edition, 1978; "Les Occidentaux--Les Pays d'Europe et les Etats-Unis depuis la Guerre," Fayard, 1978, and other publications; by Patrick Wajzman: "West Germany, France and the Superpowers" date and place not specified;]

[Excerpts] [Question] Many observers of German foreign policy are looking on with real concern at the Bonn-Moscow entente. Some even go so far as to mention the "specter of Rapallo." Do you, Alfred Grosser, feel these fears are well-founded?

[Answer] I would first of all like to remind you that Rapallo is not what it is believed to be. In fact, in the French collective memory, Rapallo represents the prototype of betrayal: Germany brusquely leaving the Western camp and going over to the East with its weapons and its baggage. Now, in reality, Weimer Germany was quite incapable of deserting the Western camp since the West--as we understand the term today--did not exist! I would add that at the time the USSR and Germany shared the sad distinction of being the two pariahs of the international community: so it was relatively natural for them to be tempted to solve their mutual problems through a treaty outside this international "polite society" that rejected them.

[Question] Doubtless. But, even if the comparison with Rapallo is not historically well-founded, the attraction the East exerts today over Germany is no less strong.

[Answer] I am coming to that. If one means that Germany could throw itself into the arms of the Russians, well, frankly, I cannot associate myself with that hypothesis. You will note also that for 30 years, whenever a German Government has made some kind of overture to the East, voices are raised in France claiming desertion: and every time that Bonn has hardened its attitude toward Moscow and its allies, the same voices have rushed to stigmatize "German war-mongering!"

The truth is that West Germany has always been and continues to be basically anti-communist. From that standpoint, the real question is not whether it is going to "move toward the East" but whether the vigorous "Ostpolitik" it has practiced for a decade does not run the risk, in certain particular circumstances, of going counter to the common interests of the members of the Atlantic camp.

[Question] Can you be more specific?

[Answer] The FRG is not interested in the idea of playing a global role. Its basic concern is to continue to improve the lot of the millions of people who live in the GDR. And doing so by expanding its relations with the East, especially in the economic domain. Now the intensity of these relations obviously creates a real situation of dependence, from which the FRG cannot instantly free itself without injury. In plain words: if Helmut Schmidt had announced economic sanctions against the Kremlin the day after the Kabul coup, it is likely that this position would have cost him more dearly in Bonn than in Moscow! This explains the Chancellor's resistance to American pressure. But to go from that to saying that Bonn is yielding to pressure from the Kremlin is--I repeat--a step it would be absurd to take.

[Question] I am with you all the way when you say that the FRG's orientation toward the West is an incontestable fact. I am still with you when you show that the ties that have been forged between Bonn and the communist world do not entail for the moment any sort of "de-westernization" on the part of West Germany. Nevertheless, shouldn't one be afraid of the influence of men like Egon Bahr or Herbert Wehner, whose dangerous pro-Sovietism is denounced daily by one Franz-Josef Strauss? These are leaders of the SPD if I am not mistaken, and their political weight is far from being negligible.

[Answer] I find Mr Strauss's presentation of what he calls the "Moscow clique" extremely shocking. It is true that Wehner and Bahr have doubtless nourished illusions about the benefits of Ostpolitik, especially with regard to liberalization of communist societies. That said, the results of this eastward policy are all the same not insignificant; and Helmut Schmidt *[begin italics]* himself *[end italics]* knows perfectly well that the situation in the people's democracies is dependent on Bonn's attitude toward Moscow. He knows perfectly well that a hardening of West Germany's policy toward the Kremlin would immediately entail a Soviet counter-reaction the effect of which would be to kill the faint stirrings of internal liberalism in Budapest or Warsaw.

Thus I think it is false and shocking to announce peremptorily that the West German Chancellor is subject to the pressure of some factions committed to militant pro-Sovietism.

[Question] It seems to me, nevertheless, that Strauss is not altogether wrong in his anxiety about the anti-Americanism that consumes the SPD.

[Answer] That's a different problem. This anti-Americanism exists. And it is not just the German Left that it is affecting: even the great liberal weekly DIE ZEIT--which, I have no need to remind you, was basically pro-American--published, several months ago, a long critical inventory of questions pending between Bonn and Washington--and did not even mention Iran and Afghanistan. They were really only concerned with European problems: defense and relations with the East.

[Question] In your opinion, what is the major cause of this sudden change?

[Answer] In part the justified belief that the American presidency is unsure, vacillating, and by consequence, not very trustworthy. The Germans reproach Jimmy

Carter of unilaterally making questionable decisions and then demanding, after the event, that his allies follow him cheerfully. This in large part explains why unconditional submission to Washington is not the argument heard most these days in Bonn. But it is not the only cause.

[Question] You think then that France and the FRG have completely identical concepts about the transatlantic relationship?

[Answer] Appearances would seem to indicate it. The truth, however, is different: in 1980, Paris and Bonn maintained the same "independent" policy with respect to Washington but for opposing reasons. Let me explain myself: on the French side, there is absolute determination to play a global role; and it is thought that the only way to attain this objective is to oppose the United States at every step. On the German side, by contrast, any kind of global role is rejected; and it is precisely because they don't want to release America from any of its worldwide responsibilities that they resist falling into formation every time it sounds the call for its European allies. You can see it: good Franco-German understanding rests in fact on divergent bases, except for the fact that France, too, declines worldwide responsibilities (as soon as there is a price-tag)--while at the same time appearing to claim them.

[Question] Alfred Grosser, do you not get the feeling at all that within this Franco-German duo so dear to your heart--and to mine--one of the two partners sometimes has the tendency to exploit the other?

[Answer] There are people who think this. Last February SPLEGEI even published an article that said this almost exactly: "The Schmidt-VGE [Valery Giscard d'Estaing] twosome works well, since VGE agrees to say publicly everything that Schmidt doesn't want to say himself." That is not my way of viewing things. I admit that in some circumstances the French and German governments give the disagreeable impression of being in a contest for the USSR's favor; but, in general, Paris and Bonn have too many common interests on the Old Continent (and especially that of maintaining a strong European presence on the world political stage) to take the risk of competitive relations--if there were a subtle competition.

[Question] Since you mention the "contest for the favors" of the Kremlin, I would like for you to give me your opinion on VGE's trip to Warsaw and Schmidt's to Moscow. Do you put them on the same level? Do you approve? Or, on the contrary, do you see in them a dangerous rift in western "unity" at the very time when the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan offered the nations of the free world the opportunity to show solidarity in their reaction?

[Answer] In each case, it seems, the value which these trips had for the USSR as acquittal, even sanction, was under-estimated. All the more as Moscow did not make any kind of concession to the western nations in return.

If our president now believe for a single moment that the letter from L. Brezhnev informing him--at the time of the Venice summit--of the provisional and symbolic withdrawal of a few Soviet units from Afghanistan really was this concession, this "price" that the USSR agreed to pay...it would be most alarming! For that means that our president is so naive he cannot distinguish between the "bribe" and the

"trip"! So I cannot believe that he thought this. But it remains no less true that his sudden trip to Warsaw did present all the appearances of a rupture of western solidarity.

Helmut Schmidt's trip to the Kremlin, on the other hand, was not quite as damaging. If only because he had announced it long ahead of time, prepared for it in cooperation with the allies, and gone ahead with the blessing--albeit a little reluctant--of the United States.

[Question] If you are willing, Alfred Grosser, let's go back to France for a moment. How do you explain Paris's rather obliging attitude toward Moscow? Do you think that in the area of East-West relations VGE is following in the footsteps of General De Gaulle, or rather that he is breaking with the doctrinal heritage left by the first two presidents of the Fifth Republic?

[Answer] There is both continuity and rupture. The continuity is shown by the fact that, as early as 1944, the general wanted to situate France at an equal distance from both superpowers. For--in De Gaulle's view--were France too close to the United States and too far from the USSR, France would be too much dominated by Washington. And when in December 1944 the general went to Moscow to sign the Franco-Soviet treaty, I am convinced that his central concern was not the USSR but in fact America. To exploit the Soviet ministrations to demonstrate to the American ally that France itself is one of the Big Powers: this is the scheme.

But Giscardian diplomacy has a distinctive twist to it. In effect, under De Gaulle and Pompidou, France only opposed the United States when the latter was in a position of strength with respect to the Soviet Union. On the other hand, when the United States saw its supremacy dangerously contested by the Kremlin, Paris lined up with Washington. Now today, VGE does nothing of the kind. "The United States is declining; the USSR is devilishly powerful. Thus, we must not cause too much difficulty for the Soviets!" This is how the president seems to react. Must I add that I do not find this kind of thinking at all convincing?

[Question] Malicious tongues would have it that the French position may also be explained by internal political considerations.

[Answer] It is not only malicious tongues that say so since it is also my own opinion! But I don't see that such a concern is anything new or original. I am persuaded, in fact, that one of the reasons for De Gaulle's trip to Moscow in 1944 was, even then, to get from Stalin [a guarantee of] the good behavior of the PCF during the Liberation--behavior which was in fact observed, under the leadership of Maurice Thorez, from the time he returned to France. You see, none of this came up last week for the first time. And today the method is similar: since Mr Giscard d'Estaing wants to be re-elected in 1981 by a larger majority than 1974, he must give the Soviets proofs of his goodwill. In exchange, the Russians will make the PCF leaders understand that the socialist candidate should not get their full support...

[Question] But nonetheless it seems to me that the dilapidated state of the union of the left, on the one hand, and the excellence of Franco-Soviet relations on the other, makes it possible to predict (*begin italics*) here and now (*end italics*)

that the PCF will do everything possible to promote the re-election of the president. Under these conditions, what indeed could make VGE interested in crusading against the Russians?

[Answer] Nothing is ever certain. Frankly, I think that the PCF's electoral "goodwill" toward the president is only assured if Rocard is the PS presidential candidate. On the other hand, if it is Mitterrand, the intensity of communist opposition to the socialist candidate could range so widely that Giscard is left open.

[Question] And on what, do you think, does the degree of PCF hostility to the PS depend?

[Answer] In analyzing the components of VGE's attitude toward the Kremlin, don't you think that one must grant him a bit of sincere conviction? And in particular to the certainty that the chief of state appears to feel that by increasing interaction at all levels with the Soviets he is contributing to the liberalization of the communist societies and Eastern Europe?

[Answer] You are obviously alluding to the ideas of Samuel Pisar: "East-West trade: weapon for peace." I think, in reality, that Valéry Giscard d'Estaing takes cognizance of this argument. He is convinced that East-West trade creates between us and the Russians bonds that tend to make the Kremlin hope Western Europe does not succumb to economic catastrophe. And on this point I entirely agree.

But the president, as you pointed out, also nourishes the hope that these cultural and economic relations will inject more freedom in the Soviet sphere of influence. And that is much less clear. For, with the exception of serious incidents and strikes aroused by Poland's overture to the western world in the early Seventies, I do not really see on what this hope could be founded! Has it ever been determined that the USSR has liberalized? On that point I prefer to put a great deal of credence in the testimony of the Soviet dissidents. Some good souls, it is true, claim that these dissenters are not the best of judges. Perhaps. But I remember too vividly the refusal of the French in the Thirties to listen to the German emigrants to accept this kind of overly "realistic" caveat...

[Question] The French political elite also explains VGE's conciliatory attitude toward the Soviets by his determination to give the "doves" in the Politburo a chance...

[Answer] Well, there again, the political elite is wrong. For, on the supposition that there are in fact "hawks" and "doves" in the Politburo (--which is far from certain--) the best way to give a chance to the "doves", to the sincere devotees of peace with the liberal camp, is to resist the "hawks!" And not to smile sweetly at them every time they jeopardize detente somewhere or other on the globe...

[Question] Now let's look at East-West relations from the other direction: seen from Moscow. Don't you think, Alfred Grosser, that by trying to charm Paris (or Bonn) the Soviets are only trying, in reality to divide the states in the liberal camp? In short, aren't you afraid that this is really only a tactic designed to weaken the western camp?

[Answer] I don't think that Moscow's "opening to the West" is solely a matter of tactical considerations. The USSR, just like the states of Western Europe, needs for the Old Continent to be a peaceful sphere. In fact, this is essential if it is to continue its own economic development. Consequently, the real problem is not whether the USSR wants peace in Europe; but whether the states of Western Europe should accept this peace at any price. My personal opinion is that the USSR's flagrant violation of the rules in Africa, in Asia, and in the Middle East, has put detente in Europe in precarious condition--unless Europeans are totally uninterested in what is happening elsewhere.

[Question] Would you go so far as to say that Western Europe is courting the risk of some form of "finlandization"?

[Answer] As you know, I mistrust premature generalizations. But, with respect only to our own country, I think one must answer in the affirmative. In this connection, I could furnish you numerous examples.

[Question] For instance?

[Answer] I hardly know where to start. Take the media: does French television dare to show critical--or even quite simple [begin italics] objective [end italics] --films about the USSR on the eve of Franco-Soviet summit meetings? Take cultural relations: when there is a Paris-Moscow exposition at the Pompidou Center, doesn't everything happen just as if the Kremlin was exercising a veritable right of veto over the contents of the exposition? Take trade relations: when Aeroflot finds itself in competition with Air France, doesn't the French Government order our airline to concede all sorts of unwarranted advantages to Aeroflot solely because one must not irritate the USSR?

[Question] Doubtless. But, in politics, it is not enough to be responsible for one's own comportment. One must also insure that outside parties don't interpret it wrongly. Are you not afraid, Alfred Grosser, that the USSR is coming to misinterpret the excessively conciliatory attitude of the Europeans, and to draw the conclusion that the leaders of the free world are no longer capable of resisting aggression?

[Answer] You are absolutely right. And this, in my opinion, is a major threat to peace in Europe. By coming to believe that the adversary will keep on yielding forever, one at last forgets that there is a point beyond which one cannot yield further. This was the mistake Hitler made, in the past, with respect to Poland. This is the mistake that the Soviets could make in the future, with respect to Yugoslavia or Berlin.

[Question] Let's take that further. In your opinion, what should have been the position of Europe--and especially of Paris and Bonn--in the face of the Afghan crisis?

[Answer] Absolutely. But, I think the Venice summit should have taken place around 3-4 January 1980, immediately after the Soviet invasion, not 6 months later. That said, I am not at all certain that our president would have agreed to go there at that time since, apparently, to his way of thinking, any summit is bad if it is suggested by the Americans!

[Question] You think then that American insolvency offered Europe the chance to assert that power and that unity that it is forever claiming for itself.

[Answer] Exactly. Except that it is less the overall responsibility of Europe than that of the Franco-German duo that seems basic to me in this affair. France-- I say again--should quit believing that its anti-Americanism confers on it a world role. And Germany should cease refusing to play the world role for which its power predestines it. Parenthetically, if someone had told me in 1945 that 35 years later I would reproach Germany for not wanting to play a global role, I would have found it rather laughable!

[Question] I would like, in conclusion, for you to give me very frankly your opinion as to the causes of this militant anti-Americanism that pervades the French political elite and even, alas, most of the political elites in Europe. For, at bottom, for almost an hour and a half, either directly or indirectly, we have really been talking about nothing else...

[Answer] There are many reasons, which I have analyzed in the most minute detail in my work "Les Occidentaux". But I can summarize them briefly.

First of all, anti-Americanism makes an excellent excuse for doing nothing for oneself at home. Thus, we find it much more dramatic and less painful to denounce the American cultural invasion than to give French research the appropriations it needs so badly. But French influence is weakened much more seriously by all the research appropriations that are not made to our libraries and universities than by the presence of an American word in our current vocabulary!

The second cause of our anti-Americanism flows from the perfectly absurd conclusions we draw about the supremacy of the United States. To over-simplify, let us say that our thinking is something like the following: "The Americans are more powerful than we; THEREFORE, we are more cultivated and intelligent than they; BECAUSE, if it were not so, we would be inferior; BUT, this idea, quite obviously, is unacceptable." I would add that this haughty way of perceiving others, this Parisian provincialism, is not aimed exclusively at the Americans. And cultivated people from Rome to London and even Madrid are themselves beginning to be monumentally exasperated by it.

Finally, the third "root" of our attitude results from the fact that we refuse to specify that we mean by our concept of national independence. Since the campaign for the European elections, in particular, it has been the magic word, but no one ventures to define it other than by endlessly amplifying on the theme of "American imperialism." As a coherent vision of the world, it is rather lightweight!

[Question] And immature.

[Answer] And immature, in fact.

[Question] Don't you fear, Alfred Grosser, that the cohesion of the Alliance will be impaired by all those superficial reactions against our ally across the Atlantic?

[Answer] I am afraid of that, in fact; and I am glad you posed the question, because this is where the real problem lies. The "quarreling" between Washington

and Paris or Washington and Bonn is only an epiphenomenon that uselessly shackles our comprehension of world realities. The froth generated by the event. But, with regard to the two basic questions that determine our future, namely:

- 1) What is to become of the western countries in the face of the various Third Worlds, the increase in the price of raw materials, the misery of the South?
- 2) What is to become of the free world in face of the growing power of the Soviet Union?

...the answer can only be a [begin italics] joint [end italics] Euro-American one. I wrote elsewhere, on the last page of "Les Occidentaux": transatlantic relations should be of little weight in comparison with the key problems of global affairs.

9516

CSO: 3100

CONSERVATIVES' CHAIRMAN SUOMINEN DISCUSSES PRESIDENTIAL RACE

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 30 Oct 80 p 3

[Interview with Ilkka Suominen by Erik Appel]

[Text] A normal election, with the Conservative Party behind a bourgeois candidate. That is how Ilkka Suominen, Conservative Party chairman, sees the 1984 presidential election. He also believes that the Conservative Party will run with a candidate of its own.

He is very unwilling to discuss the subject at all, and thinks it is too early to raise the question and that the debate will do more harm than good to the cause and the country.

He denies that he ever pleaded for an extension or a renewal of Urho Kekkonen's term in office. He only said that President Kekkonen still has the Conservative Party's support.

But it is a good 3 years until the election of electors.

The big winner in the commune elections notes that a rightist wind is blowing. A rightist wind even on the left. The move to the right is the tune of the day all across the party spectrum.

The Conservative Party wants to get into the government, of course, but when and with whom is impossible to say today. A government coalition with the Social Democrats is out of the question, at least for the moment, to judge by utterances in Social Democratic quarters.

"We will not be forced into anything, says Ilkka Suominen. "We succeeded beyond our expectations in the commune elections."

[Question] How high is the target? Is the Conservative Party aiming at becoming the biggest?

[Answer] That is one of our goals. It is an inspiring goal for the field workers. That goal was set last year just after the party congress.

I do not believe the rise stopped with that election gain. Perhaps the most

striking thing about that election was that the trend, a certain shift to the right, went all across the party spectrum.

The People's Democratic League, for example, put out a clearly bourgeois bait in the election campaign, which, by the way, was lamer than ever. The Social Democrats went straight through us to the right.

Rightist Wind All Across the Party Spectrum

Ilkka Suominen admits that the Conservative Party's gain was partly at the expense of the small bourgeois parties, especially the Liberal Party.

"In a way one may speak of an internal leftist election and an internal bourgeois election. On each side the current was to the right. One might speak with Gösta Bohman of a rightist wind in the Nordic countries, which blows across the whole party spectrum.

"That rightist wind has also blown over the young, and that is a very important source of the Conservative Party's election gain."

Do Not Glance Aside

[Question] Are you thinking of swallowing up the small parties, like the Liberal Party?

[Answer] No, we have no such intention. Contrary to what is being said, we did not actively try to lure the Liberals, but we do not reject them, either.

If people vote for the small parties, that is OK; if they stop doing that, it is still better.

We think of the four big parties (Social Democrats, People's Democratic League, Center Party, and the Conservative Party itself), when we consider such things as coalition partners, opponents, etc.

We shall avoid looking to the side, looking at others. We will listen to the citizens, but not to the small parties.

Increased Influence

[Question] To grow and become big, however, cannot be an aim in itself. What is the Conservative Party aiming at?

[Answer] Growing big is a way of increasing our influence. That can be seen directly on the municipal plane, where half of the public funds are spent, or something like 45 billion [Finnish] marks a year.

In national politics the effect is more indirect. No government can afford to ignore the Conservative party. They have had to govern in a less socialistic way. The present government with its low profile has, for example, made no effort to increase public power. And that is primarily where the difference between socialist and nonsocialist lies in a society like ours.

Government Coalition With Social Democrats Impossible

Participation in a government is obviously one goal, in the long run. At the moment Ilkka Suominen sees no gateway to the government. The present governing parties appear so firmly cemented together that there is not much chance of breaking the coalition.

"But that depends, of course, on the parties' tolerance limit.

"As long as they are in the government it is obvious that no party will say anything at all about a possible change of coalition partners. And we neither can nor will force ourselves on anybody against his will.

"After all that has been said in Social Democratic quarters (Sorsa's speech about the lack of prerequisites for cooperation) a government coalition with the Social Democrats looks impossible right now.

"Nor are we so eager for such a coalition over the heads of the parties of the center.

"But we should remain as open as possible to various alternatives," says Ilkka Suominen.

When the Door Opens

[Question] When does the Conservative Party think the door to the government will open for the party? Before or after the presidential election of 1984? Can the presidential election be a gateway to the government?

[Answer] We do not and cannot have any timetable for that. Time will tell when the situation has ripened. The presidential election has nothing to do with a government formation.

The presidential election has to do primarily with foreign policy. (But on the other hand, foreign policy has been rightly perceived as the key to the Conservative Party's fitness to govern, at least if we may believe the leftist parties.)

Normal Election Most Likely in 1984

[Question] Those who claim to understand the intricacies of politics explain the Conservative Party strategy as follows: By putting itself behind the Center Party candidate at the decisive moment (e.g., in a hypothetical situation with Karjalainen against Koivisto), the Conservative Party would "get a ticket" to the government.

That strategy has been even openly recommended by Jaakko Korjus, editor in chief of the Conservative Party organ VAASA.

[Answer] Korjus must speak for himself. No presidential election strategy has even been discussed. Anyway, discussion of the presidential election is starting much too early. It does more harm than good to the country.

[Question] But didn't you yourself plead for a reelection or an extension of Urho Kekkonen's term?

[Answer] No, I only said that Kekkonen still has the support of the Conservative Party. It is 3 years until the election of electors. A great deal can happen before that.

On the contrary, we are strongly in favor of a normal election of the 1956 type. It is also highly probable that the Conservative Party will enter a candidate of its own--who that will be has not been discussed.

[Question] According to the poll figures, Mauno Koivisto has a great deal of support among Conservative Party voters. Will they stick with you if you oppose him?

[Answer] With a candidate of our own they will certainly stick. The poll figures need to be taken with a good-sized pinch of salt. They are not based on a competition situation. None of the parties have put up any candidates yet.

Ilkka Suominen does not believe that Koivisto will get over half of the electoral college behind him in a real election situation, with opposing candidates from, among others, the Conservative Party, the People's Democratic League, and the Center Party.

Which means that "Manu" will not get the required absolute majority on the first ballot. After that the final fronts will be formed, and the position taken by the Conservative Party in that situation and how a joint bourgeois candidate will be produced are things that Ilkka Suominen is unwilling to discuss.

"But it is natural that we will support a bourgeois candidate.

"But, as I said, the question has been raised much too early, as has all the hue and cry about Mauno Koivisto."

Much of the last is attributed by Ilkka Suominen to the Social Democrats' understandable desire to make as much as possible out of Koivisto's popularity.

What happens in the actual presidential election is something else again.

8815

CSO: 3109

CONSERVATIVES' CHIEF SUOMINEN WANTS NONSOCIALIST PRESIDENT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 6 Nov 80 p 9

[Article: "Conservative Party Predicts an Increase in Taxes"]

[Text] The leading opposition party, the Conservative Party, predicts that the government will soon have to increase taxes "as a consequence of its rash policies".

On Wednesday the Conservative Party's council and Diet faction assembled in Helsinki to discuss the results of the local elections and the present political situation.

Conservative Party Chairman Ilkka Suominen criticized Mauno Koivisto's (Social Democrat) government of rash policies, a lack of leadership, indecisiveness, and deviancy. He warned that without prompt actions Finland could find itself in a situation similar to that in Sweden.

Chairman Pentti Sillantausta of the Conservative Party's Diet faction also criticized the government's economic measures: "Unless the government is able to find the political will to restrain and cut back state expenditures, it must in the name of honesty this or next year renew the sales tax and increase this tax from 14 to 18 percent."

Conservative Party Wants a Bourgeois President

Chairman Suominen also repeated his stand on the presidential question: "President Urho Kekkonen has the support of the Conservative Party and it will not be taken away."

Suominen thinks that the next presidential elections will be completely normal, and the large parties at least will nominate their own candidates.

"It is my understanding that the Conservative Party, which is striving to strengthen the bourgeois nature of a bourgeois Finland, wants to establish as its goal the election of a president who holds bourgeois views after President Kekkonen has stepped down. We do not intend to conduct an election campaign against any individual or any party, we will be conducting an election campaign on behalf of the decisions made by us."

The economic views of Conservative Party leaders were also reinforced in a joint statement of the party's council and the Diet faction, in which it was announced that the Conservative Party will not give the government anymore authority to take

out additional loans next year. In addition, the public statement demands that "measures be taken to provide enterprises with opportunities to free themselves from various market stipulations and reservations at the end of next year.

Rightwing Was Criticized

In examining the results of the local elections the Conservative Party particularly attacked the hardline rightwing Diet members from Pohjanmaa since the party suffered defeat in their areas. The Diet members from Pohjanmaa blamed the Conservative Party losses in Pohjanmaa on Pentti Maki-Hakola's, Helge Saarikoski's, and Eeva Kauppi's favorable policy toward the Christian League and the Vennamoites.

The party council also issued an instruction that authorized individuals can only in exceptional instances participate in the work of more than board. The purpose is to prevent an accumulation of work for the same individuals.

10576

CSO: 3107

BOOK SAYS VIROLAINEN BLAMES KEKKONEN FOR CRISIS WITH USSR

Helsinki USSI SUOMI in Finnish 5 Nov 80 p 17

[Article by Vesa Haapala: "Midnight Government Is Still an Obstacle"]

[Text] SDP [Finnish Social Democratic Party] Diet Member Lasse Lehtinen from Kuopio has written a book about the Center Party's former chairman and the Diet's present chairman under the title "Virolainen -- Overseer of the Republic".

The subject of the interview and the model for the book by Lehtinen, a parliamentarian from Savo, is veteran politician Johannes Virolainen, who in spite of party comrade Marjatta Vaananen's hopes did not succeed in concluding his career as party leader "in a perfect curve", which would have meant 2 more years in the leadership of the Center Party.

In his text Lehtinen does not make clear whether Virolainen was defeated because of Kekkonen's well-known suspicious attitude toward him, a nearly neglected election campaign, a lack of political friends, Paavo Vayrynen's superior ability, a general need for a change of generations, the now public scandals involving women, some lesser reason, or all of them together. Presumably he has as many subsequent speculations concerning this matter as there are goods in a Persian market.

Diet Member Lehtinen states that his idea about the book came to him during a flight over the Atlantic. He had been asked why a Social Democrat would write a book about an important Center Party politician, and he himself answers: "It is still difficult for some people in Finland to understand that from political rejection one can look at another, leave the stalls to stand outside in amazement."

The more scrupulous heirs of Santeri Alkio have already made wagers that Lehtinen has plans to become a diplomat in Paavo Vayrynen's foreign ministry by means of writing damaging statements about Virolainen. They are not at all comforted by the information that Lehtinen as a Social Democrat has not become known for being a revolutionary.

In very quick and simple references Lehtinen describes Chairman Virolainen's path from the village of Ylasomme in the parish of Viiruri to Turku's Ikituuri where the chairman's career, which began in 1964, ended -- with much publicity, for which it has been difficult to find a comparison in the political life of postwar Finland. Vayrynen succeeded in his hopes, a loyal Virolainen commanded the party membership to put disputes aside.

From the point of view of recent history perhaps the most interesting point in Lehtinen's work is the segment in which Virolainen explains his participation in the midnight government formed by K. A. Fagerholm in 1958.

Unlike the nearly uncontrolled fawning over Kekkonen even on this side of the grave, which is frequently characteristic of today's politicians -- thus more daringly than certain recent biographers! -- Virolainen carps that he himself did not appoint that dreadful cabinet and that as a single Diet member of the Agrarian League he did not make up any kind of majority in the Diet.

However, Virolainen is rather restrained in his sarcasm directed at Kekkonen.

Confirmation Class on Tehtaankatu Street

Lehtinen does not have anything new to relate much less anything that would change prevailing concepts, but the account of the luncheon at the residence of the then Soviet Ambassador Viktor Lebedev is worth quoting. The guests at the luncheon were the key government negotiators Johannes Virolainen, Martti Miettunen, and Arvo Korsimo.

"At the luncheon the Ambassador expressed considerable amazement at the fact that his and his country's good friends were negotiating the formation of a government with the Leskinenites.

"Do you know how the Leskinenites came into this world?" asked Ambassador Lebedev.

Those present were not quite sure about the evolution of this wretched form of life, but the Ambassador enlightened them:

"When God created the world, there were some stars left over. From these stars God made the devil. Since there were still some scraps left over, He made Leskinenites from them."

Johannes Virolainen states that he interrupted the Ambassador's explanation of the Bible.

"Our Bible is apparently not the same as the Ambassador's. There is no mention of this in our Bible."

Virolainen believes that Lebedev did not like his correction.

It is doubtful that the Center Party has had to attend such a stern confirmation class on Tehtaankatu Street since then.

The Time Is Not Yet Ripe

The reader can await in vain for an analytical approach from Lehtinen since this apparently was not his intent. This statesman of the young generation jumps lightly from one era and subject to another, from one event to another, from tales about Virolainen to fumbling characterizations of other party leaders, from rumors to words from Virolainen's own lips; which the author at times seems to have accepted as fact.

It would perhaps be snobbish to characterize Lehtinen's book about Virolainen as a popularisation; one could call it gossip without committing a mortal sin.

The robust but at the same time sensitive point demanded a more sensitive instinct from the observer since the concluding description after the collection of tales about the "great line" is also in danger of being understood as a joke. The announcement of a possible marriage between Virolainen and Kyllikki Stenros would probably have saved Lehtinen on that stylistic line he seems to have chosen.

An historical account of Virolainen is still in need of an author. Apparently the time is not yet ripe.

10576

CSO: 3107

BRIEFS

DEFENSE COMMITTEE EXTENDS LIFE--The life of the Third Parliamentary Defense Committee has been extended by 2 months or until the end of February. This decision was made on Wednesday by the Ministry of Defense. The Council of State established the Third Parliamentary Defense Committee toward the end of 1979. The task of this committee under the leadership of Chief Editor Jan-Magnus Jansson is to evaluate the situation with respect to Finland's security policy. In addition to this, it must determine how our military defense capability should be developed over the long term taking into consideration the requirements of the defense forces, the achieved level of operational capability, and previous decisions concerning the procurement of military equipment. The committee will also present its proposal for the development of the defense forces for the years 1982-1986. It is expected that the committee will propose an improvement in the equipment and armaments of the Army. The committee's report was originally to have been completed by the end of this year. In a 1974 decision of the Council of State concerning such military committees it states that the ministry in question can extend the life of such committees by 3 months at the most for exceptional reasons. [Text] [Helsinki HEL-SINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 6 Nov 80 p 9] 10576

CSO: 3107

MITTERRAND'S NEW BOOK: MOBILIZE PS, COMPETE WITH PC

Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Nov 80 p 11

[Review by Jean-Marie Colombani of the book "Ici et Maintenant" (Here and Now), by Francois Mitterrand, Fayard: "I am Part of the French Political Scene"]

[Text] "The timing of the publication of this book will arouse comments," predicts Francois Mitterrand in the preface to his book, whose publication is scheduled for 8 November, and he adds: "In order that there may be no mistake, I warn my readers that 'Here and Now' is not a manifesto." This work, which is in the form of conversations with Guy Claesse, editor in chief of LE MATIN, concerning current issues, should therefore be considered as a "research tool."

Before determining what type of research is involved, an analogy is essential: In-scribed in the title "Here and Now," which echoes "L'Espoir au Present" [Hope at Present], the title of George Marchais' work, it can be explained by a concern for competition. Mitterrand actually intends for the Socialist Party to continue to dispute every inch of ground with the Communist Party.

It can also be explained by the state of the left, which, no longer having any over-all platforms to put before the country or any joint program, now sees each of its factions advancing its own proposals. As early as 1979, the Communist Party drafted a text entitled "The Future Begins Now." In 1980, the Socialist Party adopted the "socialist proposal" and the MRG [presumably Revolutionary Leftist Movement] "The New Radical Manifesto."

To each his idea of the future; to each his candidate. The latter must then write or rewrite his party's program, retaining only what is suitable for the campaign. This is how Marchais' "The Future at Present" [sic], Mitterrand's "Here and Now" and Crepeau's "The Future Ahead" were born.

Finally, another analogy can be made, one that will not fail to worry the "people of the left": Both communists and socialists have long explained and continue to affirm that unity is the condition for change. The 1974 presidential election showed that unity was in fact a necessary but not adequate condition. The lack of unity they practice therefore deprives them of any prospect of power. It leads them to demand a monopoly over change for themselves and to explain that changes can be obtained by struggles in the present.

If the people of the left cannot be mobilized around a common prospect of power, then the fight is on and it is every man for himself.

Nevertheless, for Mitterrand, it cannot be a matter of giving way to pessimism. In answer to the question about whether one should "suffer or master the course of events," he replies: "I believe in the power of the mind."

Revitalize the Socialist Party

One might add that he believes in the power of his own words and writings since with this book, he hopes to revitalize the Socialist Party and inculcate in the party the idea that it should first of all be itself. This theme already appeared in the speech delivered in Marseille on 26 October, the day of the author's 64th birthday. Because this book is intended to be and is in fact guided by current events and because comments are to be "aroused" by the time of publication (the date of 8 November planned for publication is also the date of the meeting of the Socialist Party committee in charge of registering candidacies for the candidacy), one could not hesitate to put the remarks of the first secretary of the Socialist Party back into the context of the campaign for the presidency. "If in 1974 I had been able, if I were now able, to win the presidency of the republic without neglecting my essential task (rallying the socialists), then I would have seized, I would now seize, that instrument," he writes.

In the light of the Marseille speech, in which Mitterrand showed that he intends to create within the Socialist Party the conditions for his own candidacy, this book in fact looks like the instrument for a debate, a fight, and finally, a campaign.

The debate is an internal one in the Socialist Party. It pits the first secretary against Michel Rocard. For the author of "Here and Now," it is a question of demonstrating that the Metz Congress in April 1979, which had made it possible for him to put the deputy from Yvelines in the minority again, was as important as the Epinay-sur-Seine Congress in 1971, the point of departure for a henceforth "legendary" socialist renewal. He therefore uses arguments which in his opinion will show to the socialist militants that Rocard is defending a minority line.

While Mitterrand may regret that "the symbiosis was not truly achieved" with those like Rocard, who joined the Socialist Party at the time of the meeting of the conclave of socialist in October 1974, the reader's impression is nevertheless that if it were to be done all over again, one might perhaps not do it. And although Mitterrand repeatedly praises Pierre Mauroy, he denounces "the commando organization" of the PS factions and recalls its objective: homogenizing a party that is still a meeting place of thought trends.

The struggle is the one being waged by the Communist Party and the Socialist Party for the first time within the left. It is obviously enlivened by the prospect of the first ballot of the presidential election. "Anything that harms the Socialist Party is good," notes the deputy from Nièvre, who bases his approach on a conviction: "The Communist Party will only gain the upper hand if the Socialist Party changes its line," and on a hope: The aspiration for unity will take the place of the failing union. This aspiration is so strong, he explains, that it would be "suicidal" for the communist leadership to give a "six-of-one, half-a-dozen-of-the-other"-type slogan for the second ballot of the presidential election.

On occasion, Mitterrand goes back in the past before clarifying the future. In order to explain the September 1977 break, he advances several reasons: the Communist Party's refusal to accept the leadership of the socialists, its desire to return to an "Italian-type" situation (in other words, a *face-a-face* with the right, with the Socialist Party playing the role of a make-up force), and last but not least, the imperatives of the USSR's world strategy. While it is impossible, under these conditions, "to begin all over again as it was before" with the Communist Party, Mitterrand nevertheless states that he is willing to debate with his former partner the drafting of a "government contract" and indicates that his opposition to any negotiation before the first ballot (affirmed at a press conference in June) does not hold for the Communist Party. But he indicates that he scarcely believes in the possibility of negotiation because, he explains, the Communist Party "has but one thought: the first ballot and its rank compared with the Socialist Party, and that obsession 'poujadizes' it." Nor is the CGT [General Confederation of Labor] spared: As long as there is no return to unity, Seguy's Confederation is doomed to wage "rear guard battles" and to make demonstrations which in the eyes of Mitterrand look like paper-mache.

Finally, the campaign is the one which the socialist leader hopes to wage against Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in view of the presidential election. "Here and Now" presents the two aspects of it. The first, critical in nature (and how!), is a veritable anatomy of the Giscardian "monarchy." The second is constructive and condenses the proposals of the socialists.

Nothing escapes the vigilance of the author, who describes the self-effacement of the prime minister, the "decrepitude" of the National Assembly, the narrow dependency of justice, and the colonization of audio-visual media, the high administration and the universities. There is not a sector of activities that does not go through the sieve. At no time does the action of the chief of state find favor with Mitterrand. No socioprofessional category is excluded from this examination, aimed at making every individual aware that his protest is justified and that his protest must be translated into a vote, if only to illustrate Mitterrand's thought, according to which the left, being sociologically in the majority, has but to become so politically.

After reading this book, regarding protests, no one will continue to doubt the author's competitiveness vis-a-vis the Communist Party. The chapters entitled "Living Differently" and "Mastering Progress" also permit a detailed review of the socialist solutions for checking the growth of inequalities, that "blemish" of the Giscardian regime.

In this domain, one thus finds an echo of the "socialist proposals" and the many notes requested of a given collaborator. Foreign policy is treated in the final two chapters, particularly beginning with the interview he granted to LE MONDE on 31 July.

Even if necessary, this enumeration is nevertheless sometimes annoying. At any rate, it is in contrast with the liveliness and incisive nature of the critical portion. The latter takes advantage of the free tone of the conversations with Guy Claisse. One should rather judge by them! Is it a question of the length of the presidential mandate? "Bourguiba is elected for life; Pinochet is thinking

about it. Ours is probably also...." Mitterrand notes. Is it a matter of the French people's inurement to the omnipotence of the person occupying the presidency? With the help of the "intelligence" and "savoir-faire" of Giscard d'Estaing, "the suppository passes easily."

Mitterrand rejects neither drastic formulas nor the *pro domo* argument. "One judges a man by his actions, not by his age," he writes, and while Guy Claisse matches the modernness of the presidential speech, the adaptation of that speech to audiovisual limitations, against him, he replies that "the technocrat's rhetoric is already wearing out." He ridicules the one who recently said, "My bookkeeping is sick," and pretends to forget that it was Rocard. Rocard and Giscard d'Estaing mingled in the same criticism: CQFD [expansion unknown]. The internal debate is once again a fight and an element in the presidential campaign. "His generation (in the text, the generation of Giscard d'Estaing) is fading along with economism," he adds, thus revealing his belief that in 1981, history will move ahead of the "economism" that marked the 1974 campaign.

While emphasizing the need to endow the country with cultural and political proposals that are "consistent with the nature of the technical revolution," Mitterrand nevertheless does not neglect lofty ideas throughout a book marked by great pugnaciousness.

"Valéry Giscard d'Estaing thinks that he is doing fine; he thinks that France is doing fine," he notes. "So much the better for him; so much the worse for her." Speaking of himself, Mitterrand writes: "I am part of the French political scene." So much the better for him? So much the better for her? The author tries to convince us that both questions deserve an affirmative answer.

11,464
CSO: 3100

PCF'S NEW STRATEGY: RECRUIT FORCES, STRIVE FOR UNION OF LEFT

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 1 Nov 80 pp 1, 6

[Article by Gaston Plissonnier: "On the New Aspects of Our Strategy"]

[Excerpts] By virtue of its analyses of the situation and its decisions, the party's national congress has clarified and advanced the strategy defined by the 23d Congress.

It should be recalled that the objective of that strategy is the struggle for a democratic, self-management socialism under France's banner. On the whole, the means to achieve it is a powerful development of the struggles of the working class and low-income groups, marked by a higher level of awareness, a broad rallying of the people around transforming solutions. Finally, the condition for success obligatorily signifies the reinforcement of the role and influence of the Communist Party.

We shall never abandon our policy of the union of the people's forces, the union of the left. But we must learn lessons from our experience in order to choose a new path that can lead to success.

One is now better able to measure the underlying reasons why the great movements toward unity have never been successful.

Despite its energetic struggle, the Communist Party did not yet represent a big enough political force in the country and among the masses. It has not been able to prevent maneuvers or to bring the Socialist Party to respect its commitments. Under such conditions, agreement at the top constituted an alibi, with the Communist Party serving as a backing and make-up force for the Socialist Party. With the active support of the bourgeoisie, the latter has been able to oppose political progress, while seeking to isolate and weaken the Communist Party.

Today, the aim of the bourgeois government becomes clearer by the day: to do everything possible to prevent the change to which our people aspire. In order to do so, it needs to broaden its base. This explains its wide-ranging efforts to try to obtain the political resignation and social consensus of the workers, in a word, to obtain their agreement on their own exploitation. The bourgeoisie hopes to be able to achieve this consensus on the occasion of the presidential election, whence its repeated appeals to the Socialist Party which, to say the least, has not been deaf to them.

But in our country today, with a sharpening of the class struggle, the working class and the masses play an ever greater role in economic and social activity, in overall political action and national life as a whole. They are acquiring experience that contributes to the development of their awareness and helps to better situate the great problems of our time and the role and responsibility of each political party.

The current situation means that it is possible to foil the plan of big capital and the political groups serving it, on the condition -- as emphasized by the 23d Congress and the national conference -- that the Communist Party be able to lead the struggles and retain a sufficient place in the fight for change. This is in order to give the workers the means to bring all their weight to bear on behalf of truly innovative solutions in keeping with the interests of the people and the nation.

In order to attain that goal, our party must have more numerous and more effective organized forces, increased election and political influence and clearly superior means of action. More decisive results will then come in the social struggles and new conditions will be created for a more solid and more lasting union, a union that will clearly belong to the masses themselves.

Consequently, everything indicates that the strengthening of the Communist Party is definitely the key to change. Within this context, the appointment of Georges Marchais as the candidate of the Communist Party in the presidential election takes on its full significance.

Three times in the past, the election of the president of the republic was by universal suffrage. In 1965 and 1974, the Communist Party supported a unity candidate. In 1969, it presented its own candidate, our late Jacques Duclos. But it should be noted that the decision was only made after everything had been tried to reach a unity candidacy, which the Socialist Party rejected.

Today, the communist candidacy has a new and unusual political significance. It is not a question of a last resort resulting from the attitude of the Socialist Party. Our candidacy has fundamental reasons stemming from our reflection on historical events.

This orientation is the exact opposite of withdrawal and isolation. Turned resolutely toward the conquest of the masses and new forms, it constitutes the only path to change. In the midst of the daily struggles, it will be at one and the same time their expression and the mortar holding them together.

The rallying around our candidate will have far-reaching value. It will affirm the fighting spirit and will for political change, excluding illusions and political maneuvering. It will have decisive influence on the present and the future.

11,464
CSO: 3100

MARCHAIS DESCRIBES PCF'S GOALS: STRUGGLE, REFORM, PARTY UNITY

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 30 Oct 80 p 5

[Excerpts from speech by Georges Marchais, in Le Havre; date not given: "When Responsibilities Are Entrusted to the Communists, Things Are Better for the Workers and for France"]

[Text] The PCF candidate for the presidential elections in Normandy.

In Le Havre, Georges Marchais mentioned the efficient operation of the municipality.

In his speech, Georges Marchais described the difficult situation that is being experienced by the men and women workers of Normandy. He pointed out that the indispensable change must be a change "that one can experience," not "a change in the words and illusory promises of politicians." He specifically stressed that communists did not want to be judged "by their fine appearance, but by their objectives, the contents of their proposals. We leave to others the shameful behavior of "political marketing."

Then he added: "Our adversaries sometimes say that communists think only of destroying. Others go even so far as to say that we would renounce authority! Those people confuse their desires with reality. It is indeed true that there are things that we want to destroy: the privileges of the rich and of the bosses; and the Giscard government is in their service. We are in the opposition, against Giscard d'Estaing. We are frank and clear about this. No one can be mistaken about it. And no one is mistaken.

But no one should have any illusion. We are not satisfied--not at all--with this situation. We want to be done with this government, as soon as possible, in order to do constructive work. We want to extricate our country from the crisis. We want to put France on a new path, to achieve something truly new and better. We are above all builders."

Three Imperatives

"What does that involve, specifically? Three imperatives, closely bound together.

Develop the People's Struggles Everywhere

The first is that it is necessary to develop the people's struggles everywhere. Every day, on all fronts, there is a confrontation between workers and the power of wealth. Every day, on all fronts, power and the bosses want to tighten the screw a little more on workers. Therefore, everywhere and without delay, an intervention by all concerned is indispensable. Changing the course of things to a good direction, causing the class adversary to retreat, advancing to more justice and democracy--these things cannot be put off to a later time. It is necessary to defend oneself today, through struggle; it is necessary to undo the Giscard yoke today, through struggle. Promote change, resolutely: no wait-and-see policy! Struggle, united action; this is the only right way."

In this connection, the PCF secretary general emphasized the "rising tide of struggles and of solidarity with respect to Manufrance."

Recalling the immense success of the Saint-Etienne demonstration on 18 October and the importance of last Tuesday, Georges Marchais pointed out that Manufrance had now become "the symbol of struggle for the defense of national potential." He greeted the men and women workers of enterprises that are conducting a struggle in the departments of Seine-Maritime and Eure--more than 1,000 work stoppages have been reported there since 1 January--and he continued:

"Giscard, Barre, Ceyrac cannot do what they wish. They think they can bring the working class to submission, to resignation, to acceptance of their exploitation, which they call 'consensus.' They have not neglected anything for that. They even went so far as to obtain the cooperation of labor union organizations, more concerned with giving proof of anti-communism and of anti-CGTism [General Confederation of Labor] than with struggling against the pillage of the country. Today, they have to change their tune: Barre broadcasts on the radio, on television, and complains because austerity and unemployment are not increasing quickly enough to satisfy him. Well, it's true! It is hard to struggle, but it is effective. It pays. And everything shows that it can be developed. Those in authority and the bosses cannot, and will not be able, to manage their affairs as they wish. They have to count on the workers, the employees, the intellectuals, and the young of this country."

Make Matters Clear In Order to Unite the Forces for Change

"The second imperative for success is to make the men and women workers, the large masses of people, aware of the nature of the profound democratic reforms to which it is necessary to proceed in our country in order to open the way to a real change. The struggle for change cannot triumph in a fog, in a haze of changes to be brought about and of the means to be implemented for their attainment. Final victory, the countering of the ordeals of the class struggle, a union of all of the people's forces, of all the forces for change, can only be achieved out in the light. It can be achieved only with a clear understanding of solutions for change--anti-capitalist and democratic--which alone can make it possible to provide an end to the present crisis of society; a clear understanding also of the indispensable place of the working class, of the working people--today in the struggles, tomorrow in the exercise of responsibilities. Experience teaches us that, without this clear

understanding, there is room only for illusions, disappointments and, in short, the failure of the people's movement.

Are we starting from scratch in order to attain all of that? Of course not! We are far from being only at the beginning of this great battle of ideas, indispensable for clarity. Some important, fundamental points have already been indicated. Some ideas, claims, and aspirations advanced by communists have grown and have asserted themselves, in spite of all of the efforts of the government and of management. They are, to give only a few examples: the necessity to proceed to big nationalizations; the slogan, 'produce French,' which is in a fair way to becoming a basic demand of the workers' fight; the imperative of putting an end to profound social inequalities; the growing aspiration to take hold of one's own affairs, to build a self-managing society; the possibility of a real end to the crisis; the possibility of democracy, the possibility of a socialism that is itself democratic. Well, all of these advancements, as of now considerable in the battle of ideas, allow us to measure the possibilities that are open to us. It is with confidence that we must redouble efforts to arrive with clear understanding at a necessary union of the majority for change."

Strengthen the Communist Party

"The third imperative that we learn from experience comes from the two preceding ones. It is this: in order to help, animate, motivate the people's struggles, to increase understanding of the conditions for change, it is necessary to strengthen the Communist Party, to make it more influential, to make it more able to affect the course of things.

Why? Quite simply because the Communist Party is the party that one can be certain will never founder in class collaboration. It is the party in which men and women workers can have confidence in all circumstances. It is the party that supports all their struggles and whose only mission is to be the effective means in their fight for change.

It is apparent, then: when we say frankly that today the French Communist Party is not yet strong enough, when we say that a broadening of its influence is now a necessity for advancement, we are not thinking first of all about partisan interests. We do not make this requirement an issue in itself. No. We say that it is necessary to strengthen the Communist Party in order to enable it to serve the people's movement more effectively, to render it capable of countering the pressure that the bourgeoisie exercises, to prevent the forces of capitalism from once more leading the union into an impasse, to obtain change. It is necessary in order to enable the Communist Party to carry more weight in order to unite the people's forces in a vast majority assemblage, to build the union of the left, and to make it irreversible, to promote necessary changes.

Yes, the key question for change today is indeed that of the influence of the workers' party, of the French Communist Party."

The Only Path to Victory

"Moreover, all of the forces that are hostile to change know this well. All, from the right to the Socialist Party, dream of a Communist Party that is isolated, weakened, retired into its shell. At the very beginning of his 7-year term, Giscard d'Estaing had settled on an objective: the Communist Party must be reduced to 15 percent of the votes. As for Francois Mitterrand, back in 1972, the day after the signing of the joint program, he openly declared the same objective before the socialist international. There, too, in spite of all their efforts, they did not reach their goal. The Communist Party maintained its electoral influence and it strengthened its organization. They were kept at bay.

Of course that did not for all that cause them to give up their plan. On the contrary, they are now redoubling their efforts. They make use of all means, all lies, all calumnies in their attempt to finally succeed in weakening our party and to thus make it possible, on the occasion of the presidential election, to broaden the base of the power of capitalism by reinforcing the Socialist Party. This means that we are currently witnessing at the same time an anti-communist campaign of uncommon violence and calls from the right that lean more and more in the direction of the Socialist Party. Everyone indeed understands that if unfortunately the presidential election should result in a weakening of the Communist Party, the way would then be more open for the realization of this basic plan of the French bourgeoisie, and for considerable aggravation at the same time of the difficulties of the people and of the country.

Up to now--I repeat this--we have succeeded in preventing the forces of capitalism from attaining their aims. The Communist Party has not experienced a decrease in influence. This is an important point that has been achieved. But I do not want to conceal this: it is far, very far, from being enough to go ahead as we wish. The Communist Party must expand a great deal more in order to meet all of its historical responsibilities. To render it stronger, stronger than it is, and than it has ever been, this is indeed the prime imperative now for all the men and women who desire change.

Therefore it is clear: when we settle on the objective of uniting the largest possible collection of forces for change around the French Communist Party and its candidate, it is not a question of a last resource or of a fight for honor. It is not a question of a choice that we would make with reluctance and with our backs to the wall. No. Not at all. It is a question on the contrary of the only way to do something new and this time to advance change--this time at last--as far forward as possible--up to victory."

Act As A Revolutionary

"A final consideration, as a conclusion to this topic: any attitude, of a communist or of a noncommunist, in the direction of tackling today the problems of the union without taking into account the historic experience of which I have just spoken is the result purely and simply of dogmatism. And I add, as I weigh my words: a dogmatism that is cruel for the workers who are so painfully experiencing the Giscard policy, the policy of capitalism.

"On the other hand, when the workers, themselves, seek and open a new way to form a union which, I repeat this, will victoriously counter the difficult ordeal of class struggle, they will truly be behaving as revolutionaries."

8255

CSO: 3100

PCF'S BATTLE TO FIND UNIFYING ISSUES; INTERNAL DISSENT

Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Nov 80 p 10

[Article by Patrick Jarreau: "The Policies of the PCF's Directors Come Up Against Internal Resistance"--passages between slantlines originally published in italics.]

[Excerpts] On Saturday 15 November the PCF is organizing at Bourget (Seine-Saint-Denis) a rally in the course of which Mr Georges Marchais will address the inhabitants of the Paris region. L'HUMANITE announced that "tens of thousands of people" will attend this meeting. The previous meetings held in Paris for the communist candidate for the presidential elections--one in Boulogne-Billancourt on 21 October, the other at Mutuality Hall on 23 October--had only mediocre success. The PCF has drawn bigger crowds in the provinces, notably at Brive on 8 November. In all, however, the level of mobilization of the militants and sympathizers around the communist candidacy does not yet seem to be meeting the expectations of the directors.

The officials of the PCF are reacting to this situation by accusing the news media of ignoring Mr Marchais's campaign. The frequency of the secretary general's appearances on television somewhat discredits this statement, especially as there are other indications that the themes the communist party is using have not stirred a wide audience. The fund-raising drive launched a month ago to provide financing for the campaign, at a targeted level of 30 million Fr., has not obtained the desired results.

The intense activity of some of the militants is not enough to make up for the apathy of many others. It may be, as the PCF claims that 200,000 copies of Mr Marchais's book, "L'Espoir au Present," have been distributed, but Mr Roland Leroy said Wednesday in L'HUMANITE that "a large number of cells are still not regularly distributing L'HUMANITE-DIMANCHE." Now selling that weekly is the minimal militant activity of a communist cell.

The reports coming out from the federations of the national conference that met 11 and 12 October to designate a PCF candidate and set the themes of the campaign offended a number of militants, who found out that their party is having second thoughts about all the efforts at leftist unity to which it had committed itself, starting with the Popular Front.

The ambiguity sustained since the congress of May 1979--strengthening of the PCF in prospect of union with the PSF--is dissipating. The goal of joining together

the parties of the left on the basis of a program of social change, as in 1936, in 1945, or in 1972, is today denounced by the communist leaders as coming from a /"dogmatic"/ mentality.

This leads the communists to support some embarrassing contradictions: for example, that the governments of the Popular Front and the Liberation achieved considerable reform and improved work conditions, but that, in both cases, the interests of the dominant class were preserved thanks to the socialists. The communist leaders also state that the PSF is trying to come to power by using the PCF as a stepping-stone, and, at the same time, that the socialists are preparing, through the presidential elections, to ally themselves with the supporters of Giscard.

The "Class Against Class" Tactic

The PCF, finally, is insisting that the union of the left must be placed /"under the control of the workers,"/ but it reserves to itself the decision as to how to put /"in the service of change"/ the electoral strength it will have put together for the first round of the presidential election.

/"By calling into question the rule of automatic withdrawal, we are expressing our refusal to let ourselves be locked into (a) system that aims--this is particularly true for the presidential election--to make us marginal,"/ writes Mr Andre Lajoinie, member of the Political Bureau in the November issue of CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME. Several pages further on, Mr Laurent Salini explains that /"the communist party was only able to take shape through constant battle against the confusion"/ brought by the republican tradition of discipline, or in other words, of reciprocal withdrawals between the parties of the left.

Since then, REVOLUTION, whose two deputy editors-in-chief (Mr Hincker and Mr Cardoze) have fallen out, has not been facing up to its responsibilities, in a political context, and with a lack of resources, which did not make the task any easier. As for the Institute of Marxist Research, its activities have been among those most drastically reduced.*

Mr Marchais, at last month's national conference, called for a /"dignified and lucid"/ debate. His attacks against Mitterrand, whom he accused of /"telling fairy-tales"/ during the television broadcast of the Great Debate, on 4 November, do not seem to fit the bill.

These signs of a gap between what one can gather of Mr Marchais's preferences and the political line that he is supposed to express may explain the fact that Mr Lajoinie thought it good to mention, at the start of his article in CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME, that the designation of the secretary general as the presidential candidate /"springs from the part he has taken in the elaboration of this policy, which he profoundly embodies."/

* One can get some idea of the way REVOLUTION fulfills its weekly /"debating"/ responsibility from this short passage from the 14 November issue concerning journalists who had commented on a Jean Ferrat song expressing, without breaking with the PCF, his disagreement with the party's evaluation of the socialist countries: /"Any time there is a caravan,"/ writes REVOLUTION, /"there are hyenas running about it. They wait for one who, exhausted, breaks down, to consume him with howls and hideous laughter that terrifies the others."/ Jean Ferrat's piece (LE MONDE of 8 November) is not quoted in the article.

Such indications leave no doubt that the situation within the PCF is far from clear. It seems that the communist leadership is waging a political battle of decisive importance on two fronts--one external, the other internal. The accusations of dogmatism hurled by Mr Marchais and Mr Charles Fiterman against the supporters of "old-fashioned" union are a proof of this. They show that the leadership has not yet been able to find unifying themes that could mobilize the whole party to follow its lead, by overcoming the reluctance expressed when these new directions were first brought to light.

Among these leaders, the representatives from the "municipals" of 1977 are seriously concerned about the policy of their party. This concern is not expressed publicly. Here again, one must content oneself with drawing attention to certain indications, such as the statements of Mr Joseph Sanguedolce, the mayor of St.-Etienne, pronouncing /"regrettable"/ the incidents of which the socialist representatives were the victims, perpetrated by militant communists during the 18 October demonstration for the preservation of Manufrance.

Such incidents show that the dynamics unleashed by the present choice of direction could be difficult to control. Thus, the Nanterre section (Hauts-de-Seine) has sent forms to the cell secretaries on which were supposed to be entered the names of militants who have bought Mr Marchais's book and those militants who have not done so. It is no doubt moves of this kind which led the secretary general to say on television on 4 November that his party had made efforts, in the course of recent years, to change itself and no longer to give credence to the accusation of stalinism. Was that not a way of saying to certain people that not everything from the period of the union of the left--and especially with respect to the functioning of the PCF--should be thrown out?

9516

CSO: 3100

FORMER PCF MEMBER DISCUSSES ECONOMY, CALLS GISCARD CORRUPT

Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Nov 80 pp 1, 14

[Interview with Roger Garaudy conducted by Patrick Jarreau: "The Regime in Power Is the Most Corrupt One Has Known in 200 Years"]

[Excerpts] Mr Roger Garaudy, whose book "Call to the Living" (Seuil editions, 1979) has enjoyed considerable success, has just published the program he is planning to advocate in the coming presidential campaign. The former member of the political bureau of the French Communist Party reiterated here some of the principles enunciated in his "There Is Still Time To Live: Here Is How" (Stock editions), which criticizes not only those who are now in power but also an opposition which, he thinks, appeals to the same "growth motivation" as those against whom it is fighting.

[Question] To what extent are you acting as a writer who is trying to stimulate the interest of the public through new ideas, and to what extent are you acting as a political man who is a candidate in the presidential elections, as you have been affirming for a year?

[Answer] I don't separate the one from the other. We are traveling on a very dangerous slope: If we pursue the present policy for another 5 years we will have reached the point of no return. We must put a stop to this catastrophic drift. But the team which is now in power is the most corrupt France has known since the Directory, that is since almost 200 years. They used to speak in those days about traffic with army suppliers, but what is going on today is much more serious.

The story of Bokassa's diamonds would be just another anecdote but for the fact that it reveals French policy in Africa. Our need to stock up on supplies of uranium from Central Africa, Niger and South Africa and on other materials from Zaire leads us to support those white cannibals in South Africa and the most corrupt individuals, whether they be Bokassa--or his successors who are no better--or Mobutu.

I accuse the men in power of having derived personal profit from their links with pressure groups which are leading our country to ruin and death for the sole advantage of their enterprises: Baron Empain and Westinghouse for the nuclear

reactors, ITT for the telephone, and many others. Next to these tens of "water-gates," that is, operations in which the chief of state has protected burglars, Nixon seems to be an angel of purity. To speak here of corruption is not an insult. It is merely a definition. We can multiply examples.

The whole apparatus of the state is put to the service of these operations if one of these vassal accomplices requires it--as in a gang where each can blackmail the others. This is enough for Simon Malley to be expelled, for Delpey to be imprisoned, or, eventually, for a minister or deputy to disappear because he might "talk." Such is the law of the gang.

[Question] Why must this model of growth lead to war?

[Answer] Nuclear power and armaments are the two acolytes necessary to this conception of growth. What makes nuclear power necessary is not the need for energy, it is the waste of energy. What makes a policy of armaments necessary is that armaments are the pendulum of this economy of blind growth. At the moment we are ruining France by creating military symbols, powerless but costly toys for the people, and profitable only to those who manufacture them. Each billion dollars devoted to armaments eliminates twelve thousand jobs, according to a UN report. Armament industries are, together with the nuclear industry, those which require the greatest investment per employment created, so that they block other possibilities.

We are told that growth is necessary. I see the Communist Party, for instance, defend the automobile as it previously defended the Concord. But to propose measures which will encourage the development of the individual car is like preparing for five hundred thousand more unemployed in 5 years. We can only avoid this unemployment through reconversion measures.

Matching Forces

[Question] That is what seems to be coming into being in the case of oil, through the action of OPEC.

[Answer] That is being done very badly, and exclusively for oil, through a system of matching forces which is quite aberrant.

[Question] Labor unions are struggling for the "indexing" of salaries on the basis of productivity.

[Answer] That also is being done on the basis of matching forces. In 1936 and in 1968, the years of the highest pressures for wage increases in France, management began by saying that the French economy would not stand up to this rise. In reality 1937 and 1969 were the best years for management profits. Indeed, all that is needed is to recuperate through devaluation and inflation. That is why this race between wages and prices will always end up to the detriment of the workers. That is always what is accomplished on the basis of matching forces.

[Question] Could it be done on some other basis?

[Answer] Yes. It would be the opposite of the Barre plan: Increase demand through price indexing and thus stimulate recovery.

[Question] That is what the left is proposing.

[Answer] I don't see how the left can accomplish this as long as it persists in relying on nuclear and armament industries, which are the two udders of unemployment, as I have demonstrated in my book.

[Question] Are technical and economic conditions of recovery ripe for what you advocate?

[Answer] Certainly. Decentralized sources of energy can be simultaneously developed in thousands of different places throughout the territory. This would amount to creating large numbers of small and middle-sized enterprises, employing personnel at all levels of qualifications. In nuclear industry, on the contrary, the number of low-qualified workers required is very small, and jobs are concentrated in a few places in the territory. The techniques that would be involved are operational. We have in France, for instance, the best specialists in the production of methane by fermenting organic wastes.

But the problem is not only a political one. It wouldn't be enough to pass good laws. What is needed is the personal commitment of each Frenchman. That is what I call the dimension of faith. As far as I am concerned this is not a question of religion or of some particular clericalism. It is a matter of faith in man: First, the certainty that one can live otherwise; secondly, the attitude that each is responsible for others; and thirdly, the requirement to establish economic, social, political, and cultural conditions enabling each person to become a creator. It is this dimension of politics which seems essential to me and which is lacking both in the party in power and in the so-called opposition.

[Question] Have you collected the 500 signatures of elected people necessary to submit your plan to the electors next spring?

[Answer] Up to now we have not tried to. Nearly a quarter of what we need has been offered to us spontaneously by elected people from different parts of France--which seems to me very significant. The great obstacle is the realm of television. All you need is to have a plan and confront those who don't have any in order to find that you are cut out of the big political broadcasts. These are open only to the "four," plus those who can be of service to one of them.

[Question] Will you pursue your candidacy to the end?

[Answer] Yes. The game is worth playing if those who fundamentally challenge the model common to the "four" have the wisdom to unite around one plan. Someone other than me can advocate this plan, so long as it is on a global basis, and not limited to one of its aspects--ecology, for instance, which can only be one dimension of the plan, however capital in its importance.

To limit oneself to the fragmentary, or--as some others do--to "count votes after the first balloting" would be to admit defeat before starting; whereas a great majority consensus against the four parties can be achieved. In the struggle for

a new kind of growth excluding the two blights of civil and military nuclear power we share a concept of the future with the women's movement, whose views are in no way fragmentary. Not only must we alter the status of women in a dominating society, but, on that basis, we must prepare for a radical change in the organization of society.

9347

CSO: 3100

PROBLEMS IN CGC RANKS PROVOKE INVOLVEMENT IN 1981 ELECTION

Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Nov 80 pp 1,39

[Article by Joanne Roy: "The CGC Brings the States General Together in Paris"]

[Excerpts] Some 3,000 delegates are expected at the Floral Park in Paris on 7 November for the "States General of Managerial Personnel" being sponsored by the CGC [General Confederation of Managerial Personnel]. After adopting a national "register of grievances and proposals," which also constitutes the outline of a "plan for society," the "members of the convention" are expected--barring the unexpected--to decide on the principle of nominating one of their own as a candidate in the presidential election. A special congress will make the final decision on that issue in February.

In its own way, the CGT [General Confederation of Labor] has also entered the preliminary campaign, and the first debates are already provoking reactions from its socialist members, who fear that support for the communist candidate will be too pronounced.

More Than Discontent

At one time CGC Chairman Jean Menu was saying: "It is urgent to change prime ministers." Now he is saying: "It will be necessary to change presidents of the republic if the current policy is not reoriented."

Of course, the federation of managers unions does not expect to put one of its people in the Elysee Palace, but the televised forum provided by the election campaign strikes it as the best way of making itself known, stating its case, and increasing the "value" of its votes.

The CGC had to be very bitter to thus enter the political arena, considering that it has always claimed to be apolitical.

Everything has already been said about the discontent of the managers and the discrimination that falls on this or that category: the unemployment of the young or of older employees, the condition of the workers, and that of immigrants, unskilled workers, or temporary workers. There remains the fact that the economic slump is hurting more specifically the engineers, the department heads, and other staff personnel.

It is threatening or actually affecting guarantees concerning employment and funds that once seemed untouchable. The storms provoked by reorganizations are disturbing the advance of careers. Anonymity and distance from the decision-making centers are "robotizing" authority functions, the aggravated acceleration of technology is destroying the value of diplomas or the content of responsible positions, and social changes are upsetting hierarchical relationships.

At the same time, inflation is increasing the tax bite and eroding pensions and related benefits. When the leveling-off of inequalities--in wages and social benefits--goes into effect, it works to the detriment of medium- and lower-level managers but does not touch the really high incomes. Courted during election periods, the managers feel that they are even more cheated than other voters once the sloganeering is over. The managerial personnel, quite naturally favorable to economic liberalism, were the architects and beneficiaries of the 1960's boom, but they now see that having been unleashed, it is delivering them up to the law of the jungle. This is particularly true in the CGC.

Deserted by the Parties

But dialog with the employers and the government had been the CGC's watchword under the leadership of Halterre, the man who built the organization and whose personality imposed itself on government officials and the CNPF [National Council of French Employers]. They were less impressed with his successor, Charpentie, and Menu, who followed Charpentie, does not have an easy task. They pretend not to hear him when he gets indignant about the forecasts in the Eighth Plan that predict 2.5 million unemployed at the plan's end and when he calls for a "crisis roundtable." Menu was equally unsuccessful on the question of placing managerial representatives on boards of directors and supervisory boards, since the proposal in that direction by the RFP [Rally for the Republic] was withdrawn after being emasculated by members of Parliament who were overly "sensitive to the sirens from the CNPF" and when the promised government support was not forthcoming. Three other demands are also encountering the immobilism of Barre and Ceyrac: more serious guarantees concerning the tax reductions agreed to, aid for job-creating investments with a tripartite charter covering the employment of managerial personnel, and the status of that personnel (eliminating in particular the restrictive interpretations handed down by the Industrial Court).

While all hope of possible concessions by the government has not been abandoned, there is great bitterness toward the CNPF and the political parties.

As far as the employers are concerned, the CGC has not forgotten the noisy "Seminar on Supervision" held in Poitiers on 12 October 1979, at which the president of the republic was the concluding speaker. In its opinion, that event was simply an attempted takeover at its own expense.

The behavior of the parties has been no less disappointing, despite the apparently constructive contacts that Menu established with them (the PCF excluded) a year ago.

There was also cruel disappointment with the PS [Socialist Party] when Mitterrand's friends submitted a bill on social protection which, modeled on the Common Program of the Left, wiped out the supplementary pension funds by merging them into a general system.

The upshot is that Menu, who on taking over leadership of the CGC enjoyed a reputation as a convinced democrat and a man of dialog and unity, has profited very little from his attempts to open a breach in the direction of the citadels of government, business, and politics. With the parties, at least, he has clearly dissociated himself from the recent vague flirtations with the GIR (Initiative and Responsibility Group).

Keeping two irons hot, the new chairman also tried rapprochement with the workers federations. The attempt very rapidly proved impossible with the CGT, one of whose member unions, the UGICT (Union of Engineers, Managers, and Technicians), is coming more and more to rival the organization on Gramont Street--not to mention the gnashing of teeth provoked among some CGC members by contact with "the Communists." With the FO (Workers Force), the CFTC (French Confederation of Christian Workers), and the CFDT (French Democratic Confederation of Labor), the reformist front dreamed of by Menu remains in the land of dreams, although an isolated agreement on working hours was reached with Maitre.

Meanwhile, the CGC's membership has also been suffering the same erosion as that being experienced by other unions. Menu admits, "We are losing from 3 to 4 percent every year." The true situation is even more painful, according to his competitors or opponents, and dues are not coming in easily. The elections to the Industrial Court on 12 December 1980 (as published) have confirmed a certain loss of influence: 36 percent of the votes went to the CGC in the Managers College, compared to 55.6 percent for the federated unions, and in some instances the CFDT and the CGT were crowding the central union of managers.

It was becoming urgent to find the right words and conduct for attracting the rank and file and to come up with original actions for showing discontent. It was a necessity in order to combat the general gloominess of the French, dissipate the weariness or internal disagreements that were threatening to weaken the CGC even further, and make it more attractive in the eyes of nonunion members.

That is what the federation has tried to do in organizing the states general, preceded by debates in the firms and at conventions in the departements and regions. In addition, the registers of grievances are to result in a specific program of action and a plan for society that will fill a certain doctrinal vacuum.

Does this idea of sending Jean-Louis Mandinaud (of the Petroleum Union)--formerly secretary general of the UCT (Union of Managers and Technicians), now merged with the CGC--into the presidential battle mean that the managers union has come out of its tranquil reformism to "lead astray" the union movement, as the CGT claims? To that, Menu responds that the future of the union movement does not always lie in strikes and parades. Menu asks whether the greatest power of the managers does not lie, when all is said and done, in their voter registration cards.

11798
CSO: 3100

FRANCO-SOVIET SPACE COOPERATION SEEN INCREASING

Paris LE FIGARO in French 1-2 Nov 80 p 7

[Article by Jean-Paul Croize]

[Text] Franco-Soviet space cooperation should soon be considerably enriched. The USSR has just proposed to CNES (National Center for Space Studies) officials that they participate in a dual exploratory mission of the planet Venus and Halley's comet. And everything points to agreement by the French scientists before the end of the year to participate in this project that appears to be one of the most prestigious ever envisaged in the space field.

It was during the meeting of the Franco-Soviet Space Committee that was just held in the USSR that this proposal was made. It is a question of making profound changes in the "Venera" joint program of the two countries. Up to now the plan was to launch a Soviet space missile in 1984, in order to deposit in 1985, in the Venus atmosphere, a French balloon carrying a nacelle filled with instruments for measurements to be made by both countries.

The Soviets wish to reduce the diameter of the balloon from 9 to 3 meters and at the same time to reduce the weight of the nacelle from about 20 to 4 kilos. This would allow the rocket to handle two other elements, with respect to which France has been invited to participate. First, there would be a "landing module" that would be gently deposited on Venus, where it would make an entire series of measurements, in particular thanks to material conceived by some French research laboratories. In addition, if the lifting capacity of the rocket allows it, an "orbital module" could also be realized, that would revolve around the planet, taking photographs with an optical material that is also French. But above all, the Soviet rocket would also provide an exploratory sounding device that would be deposited in the vicinity of Halley's comet, at the time of its passage near the earth in 1986.

One knows that these celestial bodies intrigue astronomers, who consider them somewhat like "messengers from the past," whose composition should recall that of the primitive constituents of the solar system, right after its formation about 5 billion years ago. Coming close to us every 76 years, Halley will be the first important comet that can be explored, thanks to space technology.

The European Space Agency already decided last year to launch a sounding device toward it--christened "Giotto." France is associated with this plan. For our country to participate also in the Soviet plan would be extremely interesting, because the mission of the two rockets should prove to be complementary: "Giotto" will pass very quickly, but very near to Halley, and would make an observation that is above all visual. The Franco-Soviet plan would pass further away, at about 50,000 km from the comet. But, stabilized in a different manner, this sounding would have more time to make some chemical analyses of the coma and of the tail of the celestial body.

In principle, the CNES should make a decision regarding its participation in these plans before the end of the year. But as of now it is difficult to think that the answer could be in the negative. First of all, scientific interest in this dual exploratory campaign is extremely evident. Then, too, its cost probably could be held to the 50 million francs provided for the Venera mission that had been planned up to now.

8255

CSO: 3100

CIVIL DEFENSE, CRISIS REGULATIONS REVISED

Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Nov 80 p 12

[Article: "The Government Is Revising Texts Having To Do With the Organization of Civilian Defense and the Operation of Institutions In a Crisis Period"]

[Text] On the initiative of the chief of state, the government requested the secretary general of national defense (SGDN) to update the old texts on the country's civilian defense and domestic security. It has to do with establishing a civilian-military arrangement in advance which, in a period of crisis, will assure a continuity of public operations, as a result of a different distribution of the missions vested in the prefect and the general who are responsible for a zone of defense.

This is what the prime minister announced recently in his traditional speech at the beginning of the term of the Institute for High National Defense Studies (IHEDN). Raymond Barre had caused large excerpts from his proposals of this past 11 September to be distributed. But details concerning this reorganization plan for military, civilian, and economic defense in France were not included at the time.

The November issue of the magazine, DEFENSE NATIONALE, published the entire speech of the prime minister in which appeared for the first time the main aspects of the governmental plan. The new texts that are being prepared will be guided by one principle: the transference of responsibility for public order--provided by the 7 January ordinance still in effect and which has since been explained in detail in the application texts--from civilian authority to military command will occur in exceptional cases, "the rule being," said Barre, "that the two authorities--civilian and military--will remain responsible for their specific missions and will provide each other with mutual cooperation."

In his speech at the IHEDN, reproduced by DEFENSE NATIONALE, the prime minister remarked that "the old texts on civilian defense took into account serious and imminent situations that justified survival measures." Today, "the aim is to have available a combination of precautionary, deterrent measures and a means of action that will enable one to meet ever-increasingly serious crisis cases."

Barre noted that "it is necessary that in all circumstances security and the free exercise of command and communications functions be assured and, first of all of course, those that condition the operation of the forces and the continuance of essential governmental activities."

Those responsible for the preparation and the eventual implementation of defense measures in time of crisis are henceforth the very ones who in normal times have daily responsibility for the state. The transfer of responsibility for public order to military authority is reserved for exceptional cases," concluded the prime minister, "the principle being that the two authorities--civilian and military--are to remain responsible for their specific missions and will supply mutual cooperation."

In some circumstances, defined by the 1959 ordinance and explained in more detail by the law of 23 December 1972, military authority can be invested--by decree of the council of ministers--with responsibility for public order and for the coordination of measures for military and civilian defense, in the case of a threat having to do with one or several priority defense installations or in the case of events that interrupt the regular functioning of public operations. Depending on the circumstances, the military command can then take precedence over local civilian authority, through an extension of its prerogatives and take steps that may result in an engagement of military forces in the country.

Overcome Possible Internal Dissension

A new consideration arose from the work of the interministerial committee for the defense of the country, which includes representatives of the general inspectorship for the operational defense of the country (ministry of defense) and of the directorship of civilian defense (ministry of the interior). This committee was charged with coordinating civilian and military plans for the defense of the country, by decreasing the number of points deemed absolutely necessary, by approving an increase in civilian-military cooperation, and by re-examining the organization of cover forces (CRS [Republic Security Companies--State Mobile Police], gendarmery squadrons, and regional military units).

This cooperation extends to the ministry of economy, the administrative leader in all that pertains to national resources (energy, industry, food, transportation, etc.).

Today's doctrine, as in the past, aims to overcome possible internal dissension and to furnish military operations with any support that they might need. Nevertheless, it will further encourage the prefect and the general of the zone of defense--there are six in France, with headquarters in Paris, Lille, Rennes, Bordeaux, Lyons, and Metz--to carry out their activities in their localities and at all subordinate echelons, each in his own domain and with his own responsibilities.

As long as possible, according to the studies in progress, the responsibility for the maintenance of public order will fall to civilian authority. A transfer to

military authority will be an extreme measure or one that is limited to certain sectors of security having to do with installations of prime importance.

In his speech at the IHEDA, Barre said that "continuity of governmental activity, indispensable for the surmounting of crises, is the priority objective." The organization of the civilian and military command in time of crisis must be permanently operational, protected from any surprise. For the government, all formal separation between peace time and war time tends to ultimately disappear in the case of a situation of generalized crisis, for which civilian and military institutions must henceforth prepare themselves by contributing to security.

8255

CSO: 3100

SUMMARY OF FLNC'S RECENT TERRORIST ATTACKS, ARRESTS

Paris LE FIGARO in French 31 Oct 80 p 10

[Article by Pierre Gallery]

[Text] Shop windows smashed, premises broken into, automobiles damaged, four persons wounded, one of them seriously: during the night of Wednesday-Thursday, Marseilles experienced a series of bomb attacks on banking establishments. Six explosions seriously damaged BNP [National Bank of Paris] branch offices, the Societe Generale (General Company), the Credit du Nord (North Credit Bank), the Caisse d'Epargne (Savings Bank), the Credit Universel (Universal Credit), and the Sudameris. A bank was also plasticized in Aix-en-Provence. Responsibility for these attacks was claimed by the National Liberation Front of Corsica (FLNC). The CFTC [French Confederation of Christian Workers] labor union for bank employees expressed its indignation at these acts, "which are a disgrace to their perpetrators."

After the Bastelica and Ajaccio events this past January, the Corsican terrorists decided to intensify their activity on the continent. A series of attacks in Lyons, some plasticizations, and the machine gunning of gendarmes in front of the Embassy of Iran in Paris illustrated, in a bloody manner, this new "overall strategy." Marseilles, which has the title, among others, of world capital of Corsicans, has become in turn the target of the plasticizers of the FLNC. Already, on 28 September, a bomb exploded in front of the Palais de la Bourse (Stock Exchange Building), producing only light damage. At that time the affair was minimized, through reference to a certain insular folklore. The "Frightful Night" that the Phocéen city has just experienced, the passers-by who were wounded by splintering glass and who could very well have been killed, compel one to revise this judgment. In fact, Marseilles for a long time has been a turntable for all kinds of terrorism, especially Corsican terrorism. This past 6 August, two members of the FLNC, Jean-Paul Perrot and Jean-Paul Albertini, were arrested in an apartment at 30 Neuve Sainte-Catherine Street, and a veritable arsenal was seized: 11.43 colts; an American submachine gun; grenades; daggers; automatic loaders; some kilos of explosives, 5 of them anti-freeze dynamite, making possible "all-season attacks;" detonators; lanyards; slow fuses; delayed blast-offs... According to the confessions of terrorists, a series of attacks was to take place in Marseilles and in the region during the month of September, aimed in particular at autonomous port installations, containers for stockpiling Shell oil, and various public buildings.

Police intervention foiled the plans, but they apparently were only deferred.

A Long Hunt

The capture of Perrot and of Albertini and the discovery of a terrorist cell ready for "tough" activities were the result of a long investigation which had started out as a routine, commonplace operation. On 27 May, the narcotics squad police, acting on the request of their colleagues in Rouen, were to apprehend two young drug users. When they appeared in the apartment, they very quickly ascertained that the three men who were before them were not at all under the influence of drugs. The names of these three men, who were subdued after a fierce scuffle, are Alain Orsoni, Pierre Bugny, and Toussaint Poggioli. Orsoni was none other than the chief of the Parisian FLNC group. He is the one who placed the bombs at the town hall, at the marketplace, at the law courts; he is the one who, on 14 May, threw a grenade at the gendarmes on sentry duty in front of the Iranian embassy while one of his accomplices, Jeannick Leonelli, the artificer of the group, fired on them with a submachine gun.

After the arrest of Orsoni, Leonelli fled in the direction of the Midi. In Marseilles, 30-year-old Jean-Paul Perrot, born in Rabat of a Corsican mother, assistant to Orsoni, and his friend, Jean-Paul Albertini, lodged the fugitive. A new terrorist cell was formed.

But the police were on Jeannick Leonelli's trail. A document found in a garage belonging to Pierre Bugny, one of the three men arrested in Paris, put them on the track. Leonelli was apprehended in Tarascon. After long resistance, he ended by giving a name, an address. Pierrot and Albertini were arrested at Neuve-Sainte-Catherine, in a building where Gaston Deferre has an apartment. The terrorists thought that the neighborhood of the mayor of Marseilles would provide them with protection from police inquisitiveness.

Some important captures had caused one to believe a little too soon that the FLNC had been suppressed, disorganized for a long time. The strictness of the sentences imposed against other leaders who were arraigned before the Criminal Investigation Court of the State--15 years of solitary confinement for criminal offense for Yves Stella on 29 September--would probably discourage candidates from terrorism, one thought. The attacks brought against the Marseilles banks--symbol of "big capitalism" and of "colonialism"--point out that new militants have supplanted the others, that the madness continues.

8255

CSO: 3100

BANQUE DE PARIS COMES TO ATHENS

Athens BUSINESS & FINANCE in English 8 Nov 80 pp 6, 7

[Text]

THE Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas (Paribas), one of the major private European banks recently opened two new branches in Greece, one in Athens, and the other in Piraeus. Paribas is considered the first French bank in international financial operations.

The Paribas group as a whole (Compagnie Financière de Paris et des Pays-Bas) of which the bank is an important member, undertakes three types of activities. These are

- investment and commercial banking activities in France
- commercial banking activities abroad, based on a broad network of branches and affiliated companies
- a holding company specialised in financing, and industrial investment in France and abroad

These three activities complement each other. As a holding group, Paribas is in the first class, and has an investment portfolio of 5 billion francs. The easy liquidation of assets, and the resulting versatility play a role of paramount importance within the whole group. It is a member of the Paris Stock Exchange, and the Stock Exchanges of the major banking centres (London, Geneva, Tokyo, etc.)

In France the group's commercial banking activities are centred around three main banks - Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, which is the first private commercial bank in France, Credit du Nord, which is a private bank with a broad metropolitan network, and the

Compagnie Bancaire, which specialises in financing transactions in real estate. As well as these three, Paribas also has investments in other French banks (Omnium de Participations Bancaires de Paris et des Pays-Bas). This is also in the Paris Stock Exchange, and its participation in French banks and financing organisations is considerable.

The group's banking activities abroad are conducted through foreign branches of Paribas, subsidiaries, associated banks, investments in banks, and representative offices and correspondents. Having begun its foreign activity in Europe, Paribas has considerably extended its activity across the world, directing its efforts towards new zones, for example the Arabian Gulf, the Far East, North America and Africa, and the group now operates in over 45 countries, accepting deposits, granting loans and dealing with foreign exchange and related operations concerning the transfer of capital, financing imports and exports, and other general international financial activities.

Belgium, Switzerland and Holland, affiliated companies of long standing are among the oldest local banks in the area. For many years, Paribas has had a policy of creating relations with large foreign banks and consortiums, thus assisting its international expansion. As a result of this, Paribas now has

- 25% participation in S.G. Warburg, one of the most important English banks.

- 50% participation (in co-operation with S.G. Warburg) in Becker, one of the first American investment banks

- 30% participation in Sun Hung Kai, an important and well-established financing group in Hong Kong.

The industrial holdings of the group are operated through multiple affiliate companies, the most important of which is the *Omnium de Participations Financieres et Industrielles de Paris et des Pays-Bas*, which, like the other companies in the group, is a member of the Paris Stock Exchange. On 31st December 1978, Paribas' investment portfolio was estimated at over 5 billion francs, two thirds being shares of industrial and commercial enterprises from all the main geographical and economic sectors. In industry, the Paribas group has small participation in large companies, or invests larger sums, but never more than 50% of the total, in smaller companies related to the group. The group also assists in the development of medium-sized companies. In most cases, the group fulfills the role of shareholder, or associate, or financier, and does not interfere in the direct management of the enterprise, except in a few special cases.

The help the Paribas group extends to industry is not related only to those companies in its own portfolio, but also to other companies, customers, and banks. The group's wide experience in finance, its privileged position, and the specialists it employs, allow it to take care of developmental problems and the rehabilitation of companies in sectors other than the banking sector. In this way, it participates on the Boards of Directors of over 400 French and foreign companies.

In his address to the Annual General Meeting of the group in May this year, Mr. Pierre Moussa, the President, said:

"Although Paribas' primary aim in developing branches abroad has certainly not been to seek outside of France a growth of activity restricted at home, the income our expansion has

returned to us is certainly welcome in a time such as the present. Thanks to this income, we have been able to maintain Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas' profitability at a satisfactory level. The primary goal of our development, if I may remind you of it, is to construct a rational, coordinated network of international branches, capable of meeting the needs of today's world economy, and the requirements of French industry and commerce in their efforts to expand, be it through large or medium-sized businesses. Our annual report enumerates the new spots on the globe, notably in Europe and the United States, where we have broken new ground as bankers in 1979. It is my pleasure to inform you that the most important of these new establishments - those of Houston, Los Angeles, Madrid and Milan - will probably yield a profit in 1980, in spite of their being very young. We fully intend to pursue our expansion policy. The Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas Cameroon, in which our group will hold a 85% interest, was formed only a few days ago and is to become operational in a few months. The Athens and Piraeus branches of Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas are to be opened simultaneously within a few weeks, and that of Taipei will follow in September. The Barcelona branch is slated for this coming winter, with Singapore and the Chicago office hopefully not too far behind."

At the inauguration of the two new Greek branches, Mr. Moussa said that Paribas' entry to Greece is the result of four basic factors:

1) The desire of Paribas to participate in the development of Greek-French relations.

2) The penetration of Paribas throughout the whole Mediterranean area and also in Africa wherever foreign banks are permitted.

3) The great importance of the geographical position of Greece, as the link between Europe and the Middle East.

4) A desire to increase Greek-French trade, especially Greek exported commodities, and the financing of shipping.

As far as Paribas' activities in Greece are concerned, Mr. Moussa stressed that they intend to continue the Bank's financing policy. Over the last decade, Paribas has financed seven major Greek organisations for the implementation of various projects. Among the Greek institutions which

received financing from Paribas are the Telecommunications Organisation of Greece, Olympic Airways, and the Public Power Corporation.

Mr. Moussa noted that Paribas will eventually consider its participation in the future in syndicated loans to the Bank of Greece.

Finally, Mr. Moussa underlined his confidence in the future of the Greek economy and especially the modernisation of Greek agriculture.

Mr. Pierre Moussa, the President of the Paribas group (centre) at the inauguration of the bank's two new branches in Greece (in Piraeus and Athens). On his right is Mr. D. Pandelakou, Managing Director, Paribas Greece.

CSO: 4920

NEW LABOR PARTY PROGRAM STRESSES 'DEMOCRATIC' SOCIALISM

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 22 Oct 80 p 6

[Article by Kristin Moksnes: "Socialism--a Freedom Movement"; passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /"The Norwegian Labor Party builds its policy on the principle of the democratic socialism."

Thus begins the proposal to a new program of principles for the Labor Party, a document in which the party's basic viewpoint, development lines, challenges and directives are outlined in 34 points. From now until the national congress in April, the local party chapters will get a chance to comment, evaluate and take a position on the program proposal. A debate is expected about the introductory program declaration, among other things, that replaces the introduction to the program of principles from 1969, where it says: "The goal of the Norwegian Labor Party is a socialistic society."/

--Socialism is a process and means, not a final condition. With the new program formulation we do not want to abolish socialism in our program, just the opposite.

This is what Einar Forde, chairman of the program of principles committee, said when he presented the proposal yesterday with party chairman Reiulf Steen, vice-chairman Gro Harlem Brundtland, minister of planning, Per Kleppe and committee member Gudmund Hernes.

It is a precise rather than a revised program of principles the committee has worked out. A reformed program for a reformed party, a program the Labor Party should have prepared when the party abandoned the revolutionary belief. If we don't need the word socialism any longer, let's get rid of it. But out among the people I have noticed an overwhelming mobilization for us to keep the word, said Forde.

It does not only apply to "socialism." We have kept the hackneyed honor words. Solidarity. Equality. Freedom. Democracy. They are hackneyed, but we have tried to look at these terms from new points of view, said Forde. He also characterized that part of the program that deals with the party's basic view as pioneer work.

/As the basic viewpoint has rated unusually high in the program proposal, it looks like an ideological challenge to the right-wing, as well as a desire to

appeal to the Labor Party's "problem group," especially to the young people. Party chairman Steen was among those who expressed the hope that there would be a debate of principle in the election campaign./

/The aim of a socialistic policy is to expand the human possibilities for development, experience capabilities, creativity and cooperation. People themselves create their own history. The possibility of reforming society by claiming its institutions, forms the basis of the democratic Socialists' future optimism./

Our version of Democratic Socialism is built on Norwegian reality and Norwegian experiences. No other society or individual prophet can give us the recipe for Norwegian Socialism. We disagree with the Lenin Communism; as nonsocialist Democrats we must disassociate ourselves from states of dictatorship, even though they build on private capitalism.

Freedom Movement

The labor movement is a freedom movement. Freedom that is without obstructions; ability to accomplish goals and ability for self analysis, it says.

--We have linked the two honor words, freedom and management, said Forde at the press conference. The development does not "manage" itself, we must manage it. But we want neither liberal nor Lenin management. Socialists bring up demands about fundamental equality in power and resources. Formal equality (judicial) is not enough. That is why the labor movement favored resource security-- public resources as an addition to private resources in order to obtain greater equality. But the same treatment of different elements can maintain differences, and various methods are therefore needed. When the government must contribute where the private individuals fall short, we get equality results; a society where everyone contributes according to his means and receives according to need.

/"All working people continued the fundamental demand for the labor movement, and not "only" employment, but alternate work, creative work, work where people live. Work as value, it says. That is why the organization of work is so important./

Solidarity

Solidarity is a word that has gotten in trouble, said Forde at the press conference. In the basic viewpoint of the proposal for the program of principles, a great attention is devoted to it. We do not want collective arrangements because they are public, but when they function at its best, it says. The solidarity concept has been expanded to the world solidarity, and the concept is based on insight, interest and intimate understanding.

Contrary to nonsocialistic competitive democracy, the goal is a democracy of participants. The Socialists view people's characteristics as being decided by the conditions of society. Democracy is a goal, but it is also a means. We learn by participating. Participation gives perspective, insight and support for/ rallying around democratic game rules.

Society Criticism

Reformation is a way to gain knowledge. We must push reforms forward and also reject existing systems. Some of our society criticism must be self-criticism

when we are in government position, it says in the conclusion of the report of the basic viewpoint. "We cannot sit back and relax with the world as it is. We must try, we may fail, but we will learn. We will always be en route".

There are no shortcuts, and the democratic socialism is no patent medicine. But the right-wing does not answer the challenge; the crisis of capitalism will not be solved with capitalism, it says in the program proposal, which emphasizes the need for breaking off with the pessimism that now has spread out.

9583

CSO: 3108

LABOR'S DEFENSE POLICY IS CATALYST FOR OPPOSITION UNITY

Oslo NORGES HANDELS OG SJOFARTSTIDENDE in Norwegian 22 Oct 80 p 4

[Commentary by Eric Cameron: "Underhanded Attack and Arm-bending--Hard Times For Nordli"; passages between slantlines printed in bold face]

[Text] /The basis of this year's Debate on the Address was extremely meager: Rarely has His Royal Highness been given a document of less substance and structure. But that was just as was to be expected. The lame formulations in the King's speech itself did not give rise to violent criticism. Instead, the nonsocialist parties concentrated on what did /not/ come forth in the King's speech: The deep split that now is prevailing in the Labor Party./

Certainly not! That the ARBEIDERBLADET is exasperated over this and characterizes Willoch's statement as an abuse of the security policy, can be taken as a reflection of the fact that out of common decency the paper cannot but say this. It would be a stupid opposition politician who neglected to use this for political gains.

And despite everything, something positive did come out of the Conservative Party's and the other nonsocialist parties' initiatives. The prime minister arose and said that the theme did not need further debate. From the administration's point of view, the case was, in principle, settled once and for all. So now we know.

But then we also know that the prime minister is hardly faced with easier days to come. The opposition within certain groups of the party is now so strong that the suppression of further real debate, the way the opposed see it anyway, will hardly soothe their minds.

Privately, one cannot help but think that it never has been this bad for Odvar Nordli. Rarely does one observe a top politician who to such degree is subject to an underhanded attack from his own. The daggers flash incessantly, and the political arm-bending everyday seems to go against him in most cases. Of course, one should be careful about basing evaluations of politicians on human feelings. Especially when it comes to the top men in the Labor Party--the man who longest of all has held the prime minister's seat after World War II. The political history of the Labor Party is filled with assault on the security and defense policy we have pursued during this time. Strength and cleverness is needed to be opposed--occasionally one may have the need for intense power. Einar Gerhardsen had special qualities in this area. Obviously Nordli is not endowed with the

same qualities. Despite repeated assurance that his candidacy for the next Storting election is firm, it is hard not to deny an insidious doubt that he is not necessarily the most suitable. What is quite safe to assert is, that he will hardly become a candidate for prime minister with a united party behind him.

/Surely the nonsocialists perceive that the possibilities for election victory are much greater than before. This expectation was also expressed in the King's speech this year. In any case, there was a conspicuous agreement about one thing: The administration's security policy line does not have credibility. Period. So, what about it? That is a question many Norwegian voters probably pose, because realistically evaluated, the nonsocialists, individual parties and united, did not make a very impressive contribution either. At least not if this debate is viewed as a testing ground for how great the possibilities for a successful nonsocialist government coalition is.

Unity--indeed. But also disagreement. The Center Party is skeptical about the new economic policy the Conservative Party wants to pursue, especially with regard to the oil. The Christian People's Party still has not finished licking their wounds after the setback in the abortion issue; neither has the party overcome the Conservative's gradually more nuanced view. Some political commentators want the Christian People's Party to continue the abortion debate almost out of common decency--and for the voters, but not so that it will come to be of principal importance when the time for actual cooperation is ripe.

So it could very well be, but it obviously remains to be seen. In general, there are very many questions still unanswered. Because the King's speech has not unveiled any /real/ alternative in the form of binding cooperation.

9583

CSO: 3108

YOUTH WING LABOR PARTY CHAIRMAN DEFENDS EVENSEN

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 23 Oct 80 p 7

[Editorial by Bent Inge Bye: "Hysterical Reaction"]

[Text] /--The reaction to Jens Evansen's address at the national congress to the Norwegian Chemical Industrial Workers Union was hysterical, incomprehensible and contrary to what the ordinary women and men think in our country, said the leader of the Labor Party's Youth Wing, Thorbjorn Jagland, at a meeting of the trade union association in Baerum Wednesday evening. Jagland initiated the debate of prepositioning American military equipment in Norway.

The AUF-leader responded to the accusations of the non-socialist parties of the Labor Party's diminishing firmness in the defense- and security policy./

--It is about time that a united Labor Party rejects the accusations and instead directs them against the nonsocialist parties. We must hold firmly to the fact that it is not only our right, but our duty to discuss all new rearmament efforts thoroughly. Those who do not do that are blind to the dangers the arms race represents to humanity. It is actually quite grotesque and contrary to Norway's fundamental security interests, that the nonsocialist leaders do not allow their own members and voters to be in on the new rearmament efforts and arms race. The question whether we want to make ourselves the target for an atomic war between the super powers should be a real issue in all parties, said Jagland, who maintained that the parties who did not want to pose the questions regarding the defense- and security policy, are unsuited to lead us during the 80's.

Furthermore, the AUF-leader defended Evansen. Thorbjorn Jagland said:

--Evansen's cautions against atomic weapons and his proposal about nuclear physical disarmament should be a political community property in Norway. It is frightening that it is not the case. It is frightening that the existence of atomic weapons has not forced more within the nonsocialist parties to new ways of thinking and conscious objection. The nonsocialist leaders continue on their course of routine way of thinking and blind acceptance that the arms race must continue without anybody in the lower ranks complaining.

Jagland considers it a healthy sign that there has been a debate within the Labor Party about the defense- and security policy. He further claimed that there was an ever increasing understanding of the dangers of an arms race within the Labor Party.

--It does not mean withdrawal from NATO or deescalation of our own defense buildup. But the main importance in our security policy must be placed on the efforts to prevent an atomic war in Europe. That is exactly what the debate in the Labor Party regarding prepositioning is about. We ask whether increased armament in our own area will serve the detente in Europe, said the AUF-leader, T. Bjorn Jagland, at the meeting of the trade union association in Baerum.

9583

CSO: 3108

OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERS PLEDGE CONTINUED COOPERATION

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Erling Koldaas: "Cooperation Agreement"]

[Text] /The Conservative Party, the Christian People's Party and the Center Party will continue to work for a nonsocialist government after the Storting election next fall. This is what the three party leaders, Jo Benkow, Kare Kristiansen and Johan J. Jakobsen, maintained during the 15 minute political radio broadcast Saturday night. However, it was pointed out during the discussion, and especially by Benkow, that the budget proposal from the Center Party and the Christian People's Party may have created a certain confusion among nonsocialistic inclined voters./

--In no way did we expect that our budget proposal would cause any basis to create doubt about our positive recommendation towards nonsocialistic government operation. Before the reading of the budget there was actually greater unity among the nonsocialist parties than ever before, which, to a high degree, also applies to the Conservatives.

The chairman of the Conservative Party, Jo Benkow, emphasized that the nonsocialist cooperation, of course, carries credibility, but he did not find it strange that the voters are confused when the three parties end up on different sides of the Labor Party's tax proposal. The Center Party and the Christian People's Party can only blame themselves if they have created an impression of disunity, said Benkow. The Conservatives main objective is, he continued, to give relief to all income levels with this graduated taxation, and even the Labor Party itself has understood this with this year's proposal for the national budget.

Kristiansen, the chairman of the Christian People's Party, pointed out that the two parties' budget proposal will give better results for income under 100,000 kroner. This, along with an increase of child insurance and pensions, among other things, gives the budget a much better social profile, he said.

To question whether the budget proposal had created disagreement in the Christian People's Party, Kristiansen said that it was passed by unanimously by the group in the Storting. He further admitted that a much more positive acceptance of the co-proposal with the Center Party had been expected. He pointed out, however, that according to his understanding there was an agreement with the Conservatives on many more and more essential points than before.

Jablonson is not inclined to think that the existing disagreement in the tax affairs will put a stop to nonsocialist collaboration after the election next fall. The voters will now be able to form clear opinions about the tax policy of the three parties, he said. Hopefully, at the same time, the voters will not forget the great points in the budget proposal of the two central parties, to curb the inflation and guarantee jobs.

--At the reading of the budget, we promote our own proposal, and we find it quite deplorable if the proposal that has the stiffest graduated tax scale is not an improvement for once, said the chairman of the Conservative Party. He found it necessary to mention that it is too simple a conclusion to say that the Conservatives are closer to the Labor Party than the Christian People's Party and the Center Party, even though this time people will vote alternatively in favor of the proposal of the government party.

9583

CSO: 3108

ANDREASSEN NAMED MINISTER OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS, LABOR

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 11 Oct 80 p 7

[Interview with Harriet Andreassen by Gerda Vislie: "Rough Times for Harriet"]

[Text] When the nomination of the new minister of municipal affairs and labor was announced last Friday, all Norway probably looked like a living question mark. Harriet Andreassen? Who in the world is she? And the press asked the same question and more. It was established that she was "the only experiment in the administration's game of solitaire" a blank sheet of paper. It might go better than expected, we read on further, "but there are also examples that such experiments can become a political fiasco".

How does it feel to enter an administration threatened with the prediction of fiasco? How brave must the person be, and especially a woman--who puts herself in /such/ a jeopardizing position?

Our first thought when we met with the newly appointed cabinet minister, was, that she looks as if she can take a blow.

Voluminous of body, to be sure, but emanating some kind of tolerance and confidence, both in herself and others. "Straightforward. Real. First-class woman" were the characteristics we picked up from someone who knows her, even from people who have sat on the other side of the negotiating table.

All excellent qualities. But how will she manage her colossal department with all the affairs that the department deals with? Just to mention them: Housing construction. The counties and municipalities. The employment market. The labor commission. Regional development. The labor environment law.

Just to get familiarized with what all this entails

/--Yes, Just That, Cabinet Minister?/

--After I had shaken my head a little after the prime minister had called me last Thursday, exactly at 7 p.m., I thought to myself: "He probably would not ask me if he did not have faith in me. He most likely feels that I can handle this." And Ter Halvorsen, whom I called for advice, said: "Take it in stride, Harriet!"

But I am quite sure that I am considered to be at the zero point; no one has any expectations from me; and deep down I am quite pleased with that starting point.

/--Tell us a little about the new and unknown cabinet minister/

--I was born and brought up in Rorvik in Ytre Nandal--not far away from Olav Duun's estate. He was from the southside of Folla, and Rorvik lies on the north-side. I had a very nice childhood up there. We are eight brothers and sisters, six boys and two girls. Ocean and islands, storms and calm weather, peaceful and nice. My father drove a motor boat for the merchant--and sometimes went on trips to the Gjesling fishery, which was a sort of local Lofot fishery, to deliver merchandise to the fishermen. Later he was employed at the Televerket (telegraph company) and traveled around the islands repairing cables.

After elementary school I started junior high school realskole and my brothers and sisters did the same. After that I was employed at the State Telephone Company until 1960, when I started working in the local office of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions [LO] in Rogaland. In 1967 I became a secretary in the Norwegian Federation of Laborers, and in 1977 I was elected secretary in LO. And I liked it so much there, that /that/ alone made it difficult for me to make a choice. I plan to continue with some of the work there. Along with the female secretary in LO, I continue to prepare a proposal of an equality employment agreement for the LO-congress this spring, which I want to follow through to its conclusion.

Andreassen's experience in practical political work consists of membership in the city council of Egersund and Stavanger, and the chairmanship of the Labor Party's women's committee in Rogaland. She has also been the chairman of the Raelingen Labor Party and held the office of vice-mayor for one period in the municipality.

/--But no storting experience?/

--No. And that, of course, would have come in very handy. I draw a blank when it comes to treating affairs in the Storting. But it is possible to learn that?

/--Are you prepared for criticism and how do you react to attack?/

--It all depends on what kind of criticism. I can tolerate unbiased criticism, but biased criticism makes me absolutely furious. It was not very encouraging to hear that "this time Nordli had gotten hold of the mediocre to fill the cabinet ministers' posts", but actually these are old songs. Almost everybody receives character criticism before they begin. But I am afraid of not being able to last, that I must admit.

/--Must women be stronger and rougher than men in order to manage such exposed positions?/

--Women must put more into it. Women are noticed more--another importance is attached to whatever they do and say. But there is no doubt that all this is on its way to be leveled out.

/--Of all the numerous affairs you will be working with--which do you consider the most important?/

--Full employment, without any hesitation. Everybody's right to work must become a reality. It is especially important to get all the young people into the labor market. An adult who has worked for some years, can do fairly well, without much

consequences, being unemployed for a while, but if a young man or a young girl start their career without getting a job, it becomes a great problem. Here in Norway we are spared this situation, on the whole, compared with other countries. In the OECD-countries there are approximately 23 million people unemployed.

/--Everybody's right to a dwelling without killing themselves getting it--isn't there such a slogan also?/

--I think a lot is being done about that. A housing policy report is being prepared in the Storting which, among other things, deals with financing. The proposed amount for city renovation is twice as high for next year as the amount for this year.

/--You have been quite involved in the position of custodial workers./

--That job has mostly been held by women--and is a low-paying job. A research report that has just been finished, shows clearly, I think, how poorly paid, strenuous, and demanding on the health this job is. The search light is beginning to be directed towards the chemical cleaning fluids that are used in great quantities day in and day out.

Now, there are also great numbers of foreign workers in the custodial occupation, and they often do not understand the value of organizing themselves. Perhaps they have poor experience from their home countries and are suspicious. But here the elected representatives have a great task in explaining and giving guidance.

/--Do you believe in sex quotas?/

--This is a means one should not hesitate to use. But it must be used carefully. The sex quota must be a transition arrangement. I must admit that I reacted negatively the first time I heard about the proposal. Should women be included only because they are women, I wondered. But then I considered how slowly it goes to get able women in official positions, and I thus came to the conclusion, that the sex quota as a transition arrangement is an excellent means.

The new cabinet minister in the Municipal Department is quite absorbed in the equality rights problem, and the women will get a good spokeswoman in her. She is of the opinion that the primary and basic goal must be women's right to paid work--something that for the time being has not had full effectiveness. During difficult situations on the employment market, the women's work outside the home is attacked--more or less openly.

--The new technology will have great influence on the employment in the service rendering businesses, she says. Women should pay great attention to this, as the occupations and sectors that are expected to be most effected by the new technology are mostly held by women.

It is just glorious to hear Harriet Andreassen speak. One would not believe that people understand what one means. There is no sense in speaking over people's heads.

--Yes, I absolutely intend to continue that. One must speak in such a manner that people understand what one means. There is no sense in speaking over people's heads.

The new minister of municipal affairs and labor lives in a high-rise in Blystadila in Raelingen and plans to remain there. She further plans to take the bus to town every day--even though she could get a black car with a private chauffeur to pick her up and drive her back.

--No, one can read on the bus: it is nice and light there, she says.

The day Andreassen was to be appointed cabinet minister and take over Inger Louise Valle's seat in the Municipal Department at 12 o'clock, she had been notified that a government car would come and pick her up. Quarter to twelve she received a telephone message that the car was delayed--she should take a taxi. The new cabinet minister, with her hair just done, (she had made the hairdresser appointment long before she knew about the appointment) dashed to the taxi stand at the Youngstorvet and went on a taxi-waiting line at ten minutes to twelve. She maintains that she handled the situation with great calm. She arrived at the department three minutes before twelve--without any heart palpitations.

/--And soon you will be Harriet to all. Why do you think that female cabinet ministers are always called by their given name by the Norwegian population--nobody would start talking about Knut, Torvald and Andreas?/

--I have been called Harriet all my life and I like the name. I hope people continue to call me by that name. Some have actually begun to call me /Mrs./ Andreassen all of a sudden--even though I am really a Miss. No, Harriet is fine.

9583

CSO: 8139/0153

BRAGANCA BISHOP RAFAEL ON CHURCH'S POLITICAL INTERVENTION

Porto O PRIMEIRO DE JANEIRO in Portuguese 3 Nov 80 p 7

[Report on interview with Bishop of Braganca Antonio Jose Rafael, by ANOP on 2 November 1980; place not given]

[Text] Dom Antonio Jose Rafael stated: "We all know how the Constituent Assembly was manipulated and imposed, and that it was no freer than that of 1933, nor one of the people, despite its having been voted on by the deputies."

In his view, "We must remember under what circumstances these deputies were elected, and under what conditions (a forced pact, sequestration, etc.) they prepared the Constitution."

He asked: "Is it understandable that the proposal for revision of the Constitution (without duress) should not be unanimous and peaceful, but rather there is a reaffirmation of the intention to overvalue it and impose it, per se, as if it had been democratically prepared and properly subjected to a plebiscite?"

Responding to the question, he declared: "From all this it is evident that the parties are incapable of achieving the political purification of the individual. Only the Church can baptize politics."

The Braganca prelate expressed the idea that the Church not only can, but should intervene politically in society.

He subsequently remarked: "Those with misgivings about the Church's political intervention, on the one hand, acknowledge its great moral force in the service of the emancipation of the individual and, on the other hand, do not believe in that same individual's power of insight and view the Church as a dangerous competitor to the exclusive preeminence of party ideology."

He went on to say: "The Church should intervene politically in society, and it would thereby cut to the roots the nefarious chaff of secularism which has seeped in everywhere, attempting to reduce religion to a very pleasant chapter on ethnography (in view of its innocuousness) for the fanatics of Marxism-Leninism."

Dom Antonio Jose Rafael also declared: "So that there may be no mistake, I shall add that the Church's political intervention has nothing to do with partisan activity."

In the opinion of the bishop of Braganca, "The Church, in its hierarchy as an agent, is responsible for the unity of the Christian people, and must always have both partisan impartiality and political intervention, and vice versa, so that the former may guarantee the efficacy of the latter, and the latter may lend meaning to the former."

With regard to politics, he said that they "can be honest or immoral. I shall term the latter Machiavellian, to include in a single word all the blows based on opportunism, blackmail and scheming, or demagogic deception and hypocrisy, of which immoral politics has been capable of being the instigator, in our country, both before and after the revolution."

He also stressed that there is no flaw of previous politics that has not been inherited by the unrestrained politics subsequent to 25 April, differing only in degree. The Braganca prelate also stated: "In an incredible, premediated guerrilla war of political party labels, every time personal and partisan interests were at stake, there has only been a change in colors and in beneficiaries."

In commenting on the forthcoming elections, Dom Antonio Jose Rafael said: "Let the winner be the one who has offered the best founded hope or best guarantees of defendable human rights and serving the people."

In commenting on the break between Mario Soares and Eanes, Dom Antonio Jose Rafael asserted: "As a mere citizen who loves his country and is bound to democracy, I want this political partisan effort to put an end to the obscure ambiguity of the Portuguese democratic process which has been the cause of so many interpartisan disputes and intrapartisan differences, as well as all the setbacks on the post-revolutionary path."

He continued: "It will be possible to learn from this process what we should understand, concretely and definitively, Portuguese democratic socialism to be. I only wanted this desire of mine for clarification to be known as a genuine foresight."

With respect to the nomenclature of the right and left, he said that it was "an opportunistic importing on the part of those fishing in the muddy water of notorious, contemporary political Machiavellianism." Then the bishop of Braganca asked a series of questions: "Where and what is the Portuguese left?"

Those in this country who practice and sincerely live their civic or sociopolitical profession? Is it not true that the so-called left has done nothing more than transfer to its area and advantage the situation (with benefits, arbitrary action and offenses) characteristic of the so-called right?

The bishop declared: "If a left is necessary to preserve Portuguese life, it exists in the rural area. It is there that, fortunately a genuine spirit of social justice lives, and, in particular, an enlightening, clearcut practice of solidarity inspired by the Gospel, and resistant to the winds of hatred and class struggle." He added: "Hence, let the counterrevolutionaries not come to repeat the 'Northeast May' and teach the rural people things in which the latter can and should be their teachers."

He remarked: "The true left is Christian, and was born in the mountains."

The bishop of the tramontane northeast also commented on the last legislative elections of 5 October, emphasizing that he was sad to observe the large percentage of abstentions in the district of Braganca, the highest on the continent. The prelate concluded: "However, if it were not for the sense of moral obligation attached to the civic voting and the wholesome influence of the parish priests, urging that no one fail to perform such a serious duty, the percentage of abstentions would have been even higher."

2909

CSO: 3101

KJELL-OLOF FELDT COULD BECOME BUDGET MINISTER IN PALME CABINET

Stockholm MANEDS JOURNALEN in Swedish Nov 80 pp 51-57

[Article by Gustaf Olivecrona]

[Text] Kjell-Olof Feldt as budget minister in a government headed by Gosta Bohman--that was the dream of a number of directors in an opinion poll published some time ago. This may be regarded as another example of the seemingly incurable political naiveness among directors in the trades and industries, or as a sign of madness. For out of self-preservation, they ought to demand--and rightly so--that, like a plague bacillus in a hermetically closed glass ampoule, this man be taken in a sealed railway carriage back to the Red Holmsund where he was born. For he is after their power and their money.

Increased taxes for the affluent, a more effective fiscal policy, reduced exemptions, more stringent exchange controls and wage-earners' investment funds are but some of his implements for building a Socialist Sweden, a society, the nature of which, like all other leading Social Democrats, he cannot describe in detail.

Of course, he is a technocrat. His attitude toward Karl Marx and other Socialist masters is reminiscent of the attitude of our salaried clergymen to the carpenter's son from Nazareth. Jesus carried his wooden cross on his back, the bishop carries his golden cross on his belly. The gospel of the poor is gradually becoming the livelihood of administrators.

Still it would be unfair to classify Kjell-Olof Feldt among those who are in politics just for the sake of power and their career. He says himself that in the Holmsund of his childhood he got to experience what still remained of poor Sweden in the thirties--unemployment, poor housing, poor possibilities of education. The experience made him ready to adopt the Socialist message when it finally reached him. But it took some time, largely due to the fact that few messages, if any, did reach Holmsund, which, at the time, was a small place where the newspaper VASTERBOTTENS-KURIREN and the news on the radio broadcast by the Swedish Central News

Agency were the only sources of information.

His father was a dock worker. His parents were divorced at an early stage, and, during some difficult years in the thirties, his mother supported herself and her son by working as a cold buffet manageress at a restaurant and as a cook at the feasts of the more well-to-do families. The fact that Kjell-Olof had a good head for studying was clear to everybody, and when his mother married a small businessman within the plumbing business, it was largely in order to provide a sound economic basis for her son's studies.

One day in the 18th year of the Social Democratic government, young Kjell-Olof Feldt got off the train in Uppsala in order to commence his studies. This was his moment of freedom, he himself says. He was accepted at the pious Fjellsted students' hostel, which was primarily inhabited by theology students. Perhaps it was at this place that he learnt to move among those who had found salvation without being affected by it himself. This is also to say that Kjell-Olof Feldt does not belong among the believing Social Democrats. He considers himself to have arrived at his kind of Socialism via the road of reason, not through some kind of emotional salvation. In his opinion, it was the very stream of reason within the Social Democratic Party which attracted him. The directors who now want him as budget minister would probably be looking in vain for reason within the Social Democratic Party, but Feldt succeeded in discovering it.

There is a story to the effect that it was the TV personality Herbert Soderstrom who converted Feldt to Social Democracy. It is true that Herbert Soderstrom stayed at the Fjellsted Students' Hostel at the same time as Feldt, and that he was the one who took Feldt along with him to Laborermus, the Social Democratic students' club at Uppsala. As a missionary for Socialism, Herbert Soderstrom, however, was frightening rather than anything else. He was fierce and stubborn and was bent on winning intellectual victories in heated discussions, says Feldt. It was thus in spite of Herbert Soderstrom that Feldt became a Social Democrat, at any rate, according to historians writing about Feldt.

His studies resulted in a degree in political science and a study debt in the amount of 20,000 kronor. However, the literature he had to study for his degree did not include Karl Marx, and if asked if he is a Marxist, Feldt will deny it. He says that Karl Marx made an ingenious analysis of early industrialism, but that he was weaker as a prophet. Nevertheless, it is as a prophet, if anything, that Karl Marx has survived, which goes to show that even poor prophets can survive as long as the disciples are the right ones. Kjell-Olof Feldt admits without blushing for shame--and art which he probably never mastered--that he has not read the Capital by Karl Marx. He tried to read it once during his days at Uppsala but gave it up after a few pages. "I am a secondhand consumer of Karl Marx," he says, meaning that he has benefited by other writers' summaries on and analyses of Karl Marx. However, leading Social Democrats nowadays hardly need to have read Karl Marx. The connection

between the doctrines of the prophet and today's party platforms or practical politics is, indeed, very weak, more or less like a homeopathic dilution.

After his Uppsala days and a short interlude with the Social Democratic MORGON TIDNINGEN in Stockholm, Feldt became an analyst with the Central Bank under Per Åsbrink. He remained here for 4 years and, during this period, widened his activities for the party. He became, among other things, a member of the editorial board of TIDEN. On the eve of the 1962 elections, the Swedish TV had the good idea of asking him to comment on the incoming election results and to discuss them with young politicians from the non-Socialist parties. He did this so well that he was discovered by the party leaders, who immediately hired him for the budget department of the Ministry of Finance. It here took him 4 years to advance to the post of under-secretary with Gunnar Strang and another 3 years to join the government as minister of commerce. As is well-known, it, subsequently, took him 6 years to leave the government again, but it is typical of Feldt that, during the days after the disastrous elections in 1976, he was one of the few Social Democrats from within the government circle who did not stumble around grieved like Hamlet's father's ghost. Indeed, he was still the happy warrior and was now fully expecting to cut the non-Socialist government's economic policy to pieces from his seat in the Opposition. And he has, indeed, been doing this, although his knife, on some occasions, has been dull.

As regards Kjell-Olof Feldt's private life, it can be said that it is just as well organized as his political life. He is married to Birgitta von Otter, the daughter of a diplomat who, moreover, used to be a herald with the Order of the Seraphim. Birgitta is carrying on the herald tradition as a journalist with the party's weekly AKTUELLT I POLITIKEN, although her message probably differs somewhat from that of her father within the Order of the Seraphim. The Feldt couple has thus managed to share their interests in politics, and they have thus avoided the too common fate within the families of Swedish politicians that politics with its constant travelling and meetings becomes something which will split up the family. Instead, politics has become a major part of their intellectual fellowship.

As a politician, Kjell-Olof Feldt is a pragmatist. The problem solving and the disputes along the road toward the ultimate Socialist goals seem to interest him considerably more than the ultimate goals themselves. Olof Palme once said that the building of the Socialist society will never end. The risks are, of course, there that the building process becomes overloaded in time and that the carpenter's pleasure becomes too great. But during the next few years, there probably will not be much new construction but more repair work on the old structure, which has started cracking here and there. Also in this work, Feldt's political skill will probably come in handy.

The system of taxation, for example, has become outdated, and everybody realizes that it will have to be reorganized. It is a curious coincidence that when singing the International at Social Democratic meetings, they have now omitted the verse with the well-known line "We are being weighed down by taxes," at the same time as the people is weighed down by taxes

more than ever. The marginal tax rate of 65-80 percent, which today hits entirely ordinary wage-earners, was never intended for them, but the rate of inflation and progressive wage negotiators have caused their incomes to increase to levels which previously were reserved for members of the Taxpayers' Society.

It is true that the non-Socialist government has temporarily arrested this development by tying tax rates to the cost-of-living index, but one of the first measures to be taken by the next Social Democratic government will be to abolish this tying of tax rates to the cost-of-living index. Kjell-Olof Feldt is among those who most frequently advance this demand. He certainly understands the need for marginal tax reductions, but he prefers for the government and the Riksdag to decide on each of these tax reductions. For it is then easier to control who will be favored the most, and it will then, of course, be easier to profit politically from the lowering of taxes which have been raised through inflation. The tying of tax rates to the cost-of-living index is more anonymous in that respect and, therefore, not as well suited for party policy marketing.

On a short-term view, Feldt's taxation ideas have three corner stones:

First, one has to make life difficult for tax evaders and for those who are skilled in finding loopholes in the tax system, by way of intensified tax controls, limitation of the right to exemptions, general clauses and all sorts of things.

Second, the marginal tax rates will have to be lowered for the broad income stratum of the population, even if also those with high incomes, on account of the tax rate structure, will then, regrettably, get a tax reduction. However, that will be taken back by way of fewer exemptions.

Third, the production tax will be introduced, which, in principle, means that capital investments in the production process will also be taxed, not only that of labor. In addition, the old payroll tax may, of course, be increased.

On the whole, this taxation program does not appear to be something which would make business presidents hurry down into their wine cellars for champagne with which to celebrate the occasion. They ought instead to hurry down into their shelters and crouch down when the day arrives. And that man they want for budget minister!

Then there is the issue of the wage-earners' investment funds. This will be the main issue in the 1982 election, according to the Social Democratic party strategists. The enthusiasts are looking forward to a new ATP [general national supplementary pensions scheme] election. To Feldt and other Social Democrats, the wage-earners' investment funds are a means of getting trade unions to reduce their wage demands and instead get shares in the enterprises. The trades and industries will by this means be provided with risk-bearing capital of which they are in such great need, at the same time as the control of enterprises will gradually be shifted

to the wage-earners, that is to say, to their trade unions. Thus, two birds killed with one stone. This, of course, amounts to permanent forced savings on the part of wage-earners, and Feldt admits this readily.

There thus are many plans and many proposals. But most of them are being defeated in the Riksdag. By a majority of one vote. The position of the Opposition is the cause of much worry within the inner circle of the Social Democratic Party. However, Kjell-Olof Feldt seems to worry less than most of them. He finds no difficulty in finding things to do until September of 1982 when, according to all plans, they will be making their re-entry into Kanslihuset [the Swedish government office building]. It is generally assumed that Feldt will then become budget minister. But he will not. He will become minister of finance, for they will have to put an end to the division made by the non-Socialists of Gunnar Strang's old department into a budget department and a department of economics.

"If one wants to be sure of getting somebody into the government who will be interfering in the affairs of all the other departments, one has got to get a minister of economics," Feldt says, thinking of Bohman. However, even a minister of finance will sometimes interfere, which all the old government partners of Gunnar Strang will know.

How will things then turn out with Minister of Finance Feldt as guardian of the empty treasury? We shall be getting a man who, unaffected by his sound education in economics, will be depending on his own common sense. In this context, one ought to keep in mind that what appears to be common sense to Feldt will to people with more bourgeois attitudes appear to be both unsound and unreasonable.

His own people will probably also be joining the chorus of wailers, for it will be necessary to take strict measures, considering the present adverse state of affairs of Mother Sweden. And Feldt has got measures of a desirable nature. Measures which he sometimes will be forced to shelve since what is politically opportune sometimes weighs more heavily than what is economically sound. Such are the conditions of political life, and Feldt admits openly that he sometimes has got to defend positions which he himself considers to be wrong but where a majority of the party leaders opposes him.

On such occasions, a certain amount of play-acting is needed, but Kjell-Olof Feldt is a poor actor. It is true that he has got plenty of the necessary temperament for it, but his inborn honesty gains the upper hand, and his interpretation of the part he is playing will, on such occasions, not be very convincing. There are considerably greater talents than his among the top Swedish politicians when it comes to the art form of Thalia, people who know how to work themselves up into hissing indignation in an instant, or, if the occasion requires it, to let their voices tremble in pathos. Feldt's voice never trembles, but it still can be quite funny to witness his fights within the Riksdag with Gosta Bohman or some other worthy opponent.

On such occasions, Feldt will, without any appreciable difficulty, develop an increased ability of hitting on invectives or spiteful remarks which remain within the limits of decorum required of the Riksdag.

Our Riksdag is, at present, overflowing with political broilers, people who have entered into professional politics right from students' politics or their youth leagues. They are well-adjusted young men and women, completely without any professional experience but with their careers in mind and a language taken from the Swedish statute-book. Kjell-Olof Feldt differs in a refreshing manner from most of them through his humaneness. He is a man who knows how to appreciate a nice dinner, a good cigar and a straight flush in poker.

It is, of course, this humaneness coupled with his appearance as a sensible fellow, completely without any Socialist fanaticism, which has caused business directors to believe that he will be a budget minister to their taste, a minister who, on behalf of them and the country, will be able to curb the trade unions and make them show restraints in their wage demands. They seem to believe that he is a non-Socialist in Socialist clothing, but the opposite is closer to the truth. For even if, as opposed to some of his prominent party fellows, he has got no need of constantly draping himself in the Red Banner, he is no worse Social Democrat than they are.

7262

CSO: 3109

SOVIETS OPEN NEW CONSULATE IN GOTHENBURG

STOCKHOLM DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Nov 80 p 9

[Report by Staff Aarberg]

[Text] The new Soviet consulate general in Gothenburg is now ready to open. It is on a big corner lot on St Sigfrid's Quay, which has been rechristened the Red Market by humorous citizens. The moving in has already begun, but not until February or March of next year will the old consulate building in the vibrant inventors' quarter be vacated.

The Soviet Union has invested 17 million kroner in its new consulate general, at the same time that the United States has closed its representation in Gothenburg and Great Britain will soon follow its example.

In the two buildings of 5,000 square meters that constitute the new consulate, 25 persons, including 7 with diplomatic status, will have their offices, according to Petr V. Klimenko, who is the Soviet consul general in Gothenburg.

"This is an historic event; the new Soviet consulate is the first foreign representation building in Gothenburg that was built for its purpose," says Petr V. Klimenko.

The consulate general has 10 south Swedish life counteries as "its district," and will soon have at its disposal enterprises in the two countries to have dealings with each other and work for cultural exchange.

An example of the contacts that the Soviets have in mind, Petr V. Klimenko says, is the Arneberg shipyard. The shipyard has recently built a big floating dock for Murmansk, probably the world's biggest, and the Helsingfors (i.e. Gothenburg) shipyard, which receives dozens of Russian vessels for repair every year, is also important.

But much may develop, Petr V. Klimenko thinks. He points out that there are plans for a big factory for processing wood products that it is conceivable that Murmansk could see get to build.

Besides the consulate general, the new consular building will have room for people from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and from the Ministry of Maritime Fleet. There will also be a shipping register, which is said to be a counterpart of

Lloyd's Register [of Merchant Shipping]--from which there will be contact with the Scandinavian firms that produce shipbuilding equipment for the Soviet Union.

Some of the new consulate building's neighbors have written letters to the editors of GÖTEBORGS-TIDNINGEN asking that the consulate not be placed exactly where it has now come to be situated. They pointed out the risks of occupation and assassinations.

But the Soviet state will try to conciliate its new neighbors in Gothenburg by inviting them in for a tour of inspection.

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BRIEFS

PALME WARNS ON PENSIONS--"We are prepared to fight the whole bourgeois group if they try to undo the guarantee of full buying power of ATP [general supplementary pensions] pensions." Olof Palme gave that promise when the Social Democrats reported their alternative economy plans Thursday. Palme accused the Fälldin government of having deceived the Swedish People with regard to a number of social benefits. It is stated in the government's economy plan that the cutback in the "base amount" will affect only a few social benefits, primarily the pensions. The Social Democrats point out that in the Ministry of Justice alone there are 35 items that are affected by the base amount, including maintenance grants, the traffic injury law, and the crime-loss compensation law. But Prime Minister Thorbjörn Fälldin tells DAGENS NYHETER that the government is aware of the consequences of cutting back the base amount. He denies that the government has attempted to deceive the public. In presenting the Social Democratic alternative, Kjell-Olof Feldt said that the government is pursuing a perverse market policy that has an adverse effect on long-term work to reconstruct the Swedish economy. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Nov 80 p 1] 8815

PALME'S TAX PLAN--Lowered income tax differentials, fairer tax deductions, and a special commission on tax evasion and tax fraud. That is what the Social Democrats promise if they get back in power after the next election. "We will see to it that there is a fairer tax system in this country," said party chairman Olof Palme when he visited the tax authorities in Gävle on Monday. At a tax seminar in Stockholm, Kjell-Olof Feldt, the party's spokesman on economic questions, explained the new guidelines for the Social Democrats' tax reform. [Text] [Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 28 Oct 80 p 1] 8815

BOHMAN WARNS OF STALINISTS--Helsinki (SVENSKA DAGBLADET)--"Too many pure Stalinists have taken over power in the union. Stalinists that Gunnar Nilsson must look out for." So said Gösta Bohman, Conservative leader and minister of economy, at a press conference in Helsinki Tuesday, partly in connection with the difficulty of holding a moderate line in the wage agreement negotiations in Sweden. Bohman explained that by "Stalinists" he meant members of the SKP [Swedish Communist Party], not VPK [Left Party Communists]. Such Stalinists are to be found, e.g., in the dockworkers union. And they also put their stamp on the union's politics. At the same time, according to Bohman, they are a contributing cause of the fact that a reduced interest in union activity is to be noticed among the employees. [Text] [Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 29 Oct 80 p 4] 8815

SAAB TO BUILD TRAINER--A new advanced trainer is being built at Linköping. The Saab-Scania aircraft division is constructing the trainer for the Swedish Air Force but also for export. Saab 114, which is the working name, already exists as a full-scale wooden model. The details are not clear. But it probably will be a long-winged airplane with a turbo-prop engine. The final design is expected to be ready within 6 months. There is a big demand for trainers around the world. Some years ago, Saab started sketching. The funds for this project--10 million kronor--were made available as a result of the report of the Aviation Industry Committee. Today's trainers, the Bulldog and the Saab 105, are becoming outdated, the Swedish Armed Forces say. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Nov 80 p 51] 7262

GUSTAFSSON HANDLING PALME'S JOB--It will be the Social Democrats' group leader in the Riksdag, Hans Gustafsson, who will be taking on a major work load due to the fact that Olof Palme has accepted the UN task of seeking to create peace between Iran and Iraq. But, formally, it is the former minister of finance, Gunnar Strang, who will be getting the highest position in the party if Olof Palme's task should take a lot of time. The Social Democrats have no deputy chairman, which is usual in other parties. If the party chairman will be compelled to leave the party work temporarily, the executive committee of the party will be the highest authority. From among its six ordinary members under Olof Palme's direction, Gunnar Strang is usually appointed chairman in Palme's absence. This will also be the case now. Other members of the executive committee are party secretary Sten Andersson, the chief of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation Gunnar Nilsson and Gertrud Sigurdson, Ingvar Carlsson and Kurt Ward. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Nov 80 p 7] 7262

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